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## THE ROLE OF THE INFORMATION LIBRARY IN THE UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION PROGRAM

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PRESIDENT EISENHOWER created a nine-member board on January 26, 1953, to study the various propaganda operations of the United States government as the first step in assuring a "unified and dynamic effort in this field . . . essential to the security of the United States and of the other peoples in the community of free nations."

Two months before, on November 24, 1952, the *New York Times* had summarized in a front-page story the results of a survey of American information activities abroad. Reports submitted by twenty-four foreign correspondents covering forty-four nations were critical of most media, including the "Voice of America," but hardly an ill word was uttered about any of the United States Information Service libraries. "Libraries where lectures and discussions are held as well as books made available were said to be growing in popularity everywhere."

This important, if belated, attention being given to the United States international information program brings into public view the heretofore comparatively neglected overseas library. Many questions could, and perhaps will, be raised concerning the operation and the effectiveness of these libraries. This paper in-

tends merely to sketch the background of the information program, to glance at the origins and present-day activities of the libraries, and to explore various concepts of their proper function as media of international communication with the hope of providing a better understanding of the nature of the information library itself.

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE OVERSEAS INFORMATION PROGRAM

The information library has always been an integral part of the State Department's Information and Educational Exchange (USIE) program. Under a general reorganization effected in January, 1952, the International Information Administration (IIA) was set up as a semiautonomous agency within the Department of State to administer the world-wide operations of five communications media: radio, operated by International Broadcasting Service (IBS), more popularly known as the "Voice of America"; press and publications, under International Press Service (IPS); films, under International Motion Picture Service (IMS); exchange of persons, under International Educational Exchange Service (IES), and the libraries, under the International Information Center

Service (ICS). A condensed account of the part that the United States government has played in international communications is therefore essential to understand the framework in which the overseas library operates. A fuller history of the program up to 1948 will be found in Charles Thomson's *Overseas Information Service of the United States Government*.

The first organized efforts of the federal government in international communication began when President Wilson created the Committee on Public Information by executive order dated April 13, 1917. George Creel, an advertising executive, was appointed civilian chairman, with the secretaries of State, War, and Navy as the other members. The "Creel Committee," which has been called "America's first propaganda ministry," was charged with encouraging and consolidating public opinion in behalf of the war effort by keeping the Wilson program before the people and making it seem "like something worth dying for."

George Creel's first job was to win the battle for the inner lines. But mobilization of public opinion in this country was but part of the great undertaking. When George Creel said he was engaged upon a "fight for the mind of mankind," he was not merely boasting. The Committee on Public Information extended its work of education, its propaganda for the Wilsonian world program, straight around the globe.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to note that probably the very first American libraries ever established abroad were those initiated by Robert Murray in seven cities in Mexico. These American reading rooms, "with approved literature, newspapers, and periodicals always available," presented classes in English, French, bookkeeping, and shorthand and were so popular that

Murray "gave up this particular phase of the work with the greatest reluctance when the general demobilization order for his office was received toward the end of January, 1919."<sup>2</sup>

In the period of isolationist sentiment between world wars, popular revulsion against propaganda was strongest, and the very thought of Uncle Sam going in for international press-agency was alien to the American notion of freedom of expression. Accordingly, the federal government withdrew from any active participation in the furious exchange of information and propaganda that continued to grow throughout the world. Even when the barrage of propaganda from the Axis powers and Soviet Russia assaulted America in rising crescendo in the late 1930's, the United States insisted on keeping all channels of communication open. The only interference came on the part of Congress, which in 1938 and 1942 passed legislation requiring that foreign propagandists and their agents in the United States disclose the names of their employers and the nature of their operations.

The sole exception to this hands-off policy on the part of the Executive Branch was the creation in May, 1938, of the Interdepartmental Committee for Scientific and Cultural Co-operation (SCC) and of a Division of Cultural Co-operation in the Department of State. The purpose of these agencies was to promote "good neighborliness" in the Western Hemisphere, in large part by means of cultural exchange. Following United States involvement in World War II, President Roosevelt in June, 1942, consolidated several agencies disseminating domestic information into the Office of

<sup>1</sup> James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information, 1917-1919* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939), p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Thomson, *Overseas Information Service of the United States Government* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1948), pp. 2-3.

War Information (OWI), which included a Domestic Branch and an Overseas Branch. Cultural and information activities in the Western Hemisphere was handled by several agencies, chief of which was the Office of the Co-ordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between American Republics (OCCCRBAR, established in August, 1940), with Nelson Rockefeller as co-ordinator.<sup>3</sup> The OWI used the whole range of communication activities, from cultural exchange by means of its library in the American embassy in London to psychological warfare conducted in field operations in conjunction with (and sometimes in conflict with) the Army's Office of Strategic Services (OSS). The significance of so many agencies from the point of view of a communications program was twofold: the separation of these agencies from central policy-making bodies created poor liaison between foreign policy and information policy, thus depriving many information activities of strategic effectiveness; and, second, all kinds and degrees of communication were practiced, some of which adhered strictly to the truth and others of which bombarded foreign audiences with stratagems justified by psychological warfare.

With the cessation of hostilities in Europe and the Far East in 1945, President Truman dissolved the OWI and created the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC) within the Department of State. In September, 1947, following drastic budget cuts imposed by Congress, OIC became the Office of International Information and Educational Exchange (OIE). Then, with legislative recognition and increased funds supplied by the Smith-Mundt Act of January, 1948, the program was split into two new offices: International Information (OII), with radio, press, and

films, and Educational Exchange (OEX), with exchange of persons and libraries and institutes, the two latter under the direction of what was then called the Division of Libraries and Institutes (ILI).<sup>4</sup>

For the postwar information program the State Department absorbed existing information agencies within the Office of International Information and Educational Exchange (OIE), with the notable exception of the reorientation programs of the Department of the Army in Germany and Japan. The Smith-Mundt Act of 1948 (Public Law 402) was partly the result of intensive pressure on Congress by William Benton, Assistant Secretary of State for Public and Cultural Affairs, and partly the result of impressions received by traveling congressmen who were shocked by the woeful lack of understanding abroad of the United States. The legislation declared that "the objectives of this Act are to enable the Government of the United States to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries . . . through press, publications, radio, motion pictures, and other information media, and through information centers and instructors abroad." The emphasis was on a "full and fair picture" of the United States, its peoples, and its policies.<sup>5</sup> Even in OII, and of course in OEX, the picture was to be balanced and truthful.

As the propagandists of the Soviet Union and its satellites increased the intensity of their campaign against the

<sup>3</sup> This was retitled the Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA) in July, 1941, and then the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA) in March, 1945 (*ibid.*, pp. 158, 160-61).

<sup>4</sup> United States Congress, Public Law 402 (80th Cong., 2d sess.), cited as the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (H.R. 3342), approved January 27, 1948, p. 1. See also Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> United States Congress, Public Law 402, p. 6.

Economic Co-operation Administration (the Marshall Plan), against the whole Truman doctrine of containment, and especially against the "imperialist warmongers" in the United States, the OII and particularly the International Broadcasting Division ("Voice of America") gradually sharpened its output to more propagandistic purposefulness. Soviet charges of racial persecution and terror in the United States became difficult to answer abroad if a "full and fair" picture of the Negro problem in the South were to be projected just as it is. Many issues, such as freedom of speech and the "capitalist system," were found to be completely misunderstood in certain areas overseas. They needed not so much suppression as detailed background explanation, and, when this was not possible, it was found better to omit mention of them. In short, an adjustment to foreign misconceptions, encouraged by Communist propagandists, took place in the governmental communication process.

The Department of State, pointing to this "increasingly bitter and vicious element of hate and slander against the American Government and people," has characterized the purpose of the attacks as the effort "to convince millions of persons in Europe, Asia, and other parts of the world that the United States is a war-mongering, power-hungry nation, determined to dominate other nations. This propaganda is designed to poison and to delude the minds of men as a preliminary to their enslavement."<sup>6</sup>

The State Department booklet goes on to say that this propaganda effort of the Soviet Union was recognized as a major threat to the foreign-policy objectives of the United States. To attain those objec-

tives, the information program must assist by going on the psychological offensive. "The effort must be directed toward creating psychological strength and resistance to Communism and Soviet imperialism in the areas and countries of most critical concern to the foreign policy of the United States."

In the years immediately following the end of World War II, the general output of the United States' international information program was well described as "the full and fair picture" or as a "projection of America." The aggressive policies of the Soviet Union have compelled the information program to develop more dynamic content and to increase its level of activity.<sup>7</sup>

President Truman instigated official support of this change in a talk before the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 20, 1950. He set the goal of this "Campaign of Truth" in the following words:

Our task is to present the truth to the millions of people who are uninformed or misinformed or unconvinced. Our task is to reach them in their daily lives, as they work and learn. We must be alert, ingenious, and diligent in reaching peoples of other countries, whatever their educational and cultural background may be. . . . This task is not separate and distinct from other elements of our foreign policy. It is a part of all we are doing to build a peaceful world. It is as important as armed strength and economic aid. The Marshall Plan, military aid, Point Four—these and other programs depend for their success on the understanding and support of our own citizens and those of other countries.<sup>8</sup>

Shortly after this speech, which was immediately followed by another by Secretary of State Dean Acheson, the Eighty-first Congress voted \$121,000,000 for the information program to enable it to build new radio-transmitting facilities, to add personnel to all media divisions,

<sup>6</sup> United States Department of State, *The Campaign of Truth* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951), p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *New York Times*, April 21, 1950, p. 14.

and to expand the operations for the exchange of persons, press and publications, information centers, binational centers, and films.

This intensification and expansion of the program has naturally had its effect on over-all information policy. In general, it can be described as a move away from the complete and objective exchange of news and cultural achievements, as in the prewar agencies of cultural co-operation, and toward a more propagandistic approach in which Soviet accusations and popular misconceptions about the United States abroad were taken into consideration. Within the program, it is thought of as a shift from the "full and fair picture" of the United States to the "Campaign of Truth." But, semantically, this second phrase is not accurate. "Campaign" in the war of ideas it is; but, if anything, there is less of the objective "truth" than before. Of course, the basic facts disseminated abroad remain true,<sup>9</sup> but there is in the new effort more emphasis on selected fact and slanted information—in short, the communication is more purposive, more aimed at affecting controversial attitudes.

A special assistant to the administrator of the information program has characterized the change as a closer support of specific foreign-policy objectives. As he expresses it, there are four ways to achieve these objectives: (1) by economic assistance or by its reverse action, the boycott; (2) by degrees of military aid ranging as far as open warfare, as in Korea; (3) by diplomacy, which is ex-

change of information between government and government;<sup>10</sup> (4) by propaganda, which is communication on a people-to-people basis. Thus, while propaganda uses all three devices as pegs for its operation, its primary purpose is to condition recipients psychologically to accept specific foreign-policy aims.

In a cogent presentation of the post-1950 concepts of the nature of the information program, Block has said this about the relationship between policy and propaganda:

By its very nature, propaganda cannot operate independently of a policy threshold; policy is both the gun mount and the missile; propaganda, the propelling explosive element. It can prepare the way for substantive national policy, can assist in the qualitative formulation and statement of policy to insure an understanding reception, can act to ameliorate the intellectual climate in which political policy is enunciated and has to act; but, in any final effectiveness, propaganda must have substantial purposes to work on. It is meaningless in a policy vacuum. In this respect, the North Atlantic Treaty is a branch of national policy; the illumination abroad of American character, its integrity of purpose and its power to fulfill its obligations are accompanying propaganda objectives.

United States foreign policy aims to assure the security of American free institutions and liberal tradition, to assist in the development and survival of similar forces elsewhere and to promote conditions of international stability, freedom, and political evolution likely to contribute to that stability. The technical objectives of the United States foreign information and educational exchange programs complement these aims.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> For a distinction between propaganda and education ("transmits non-controversial attitudes") and propaganda and diplomacy ("language to conclude agreements") see B. L. Smith, H. D. Lasswell, and R. D. Casey, *Propaganda, Communication, and Public Opinion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), pp. 1-2. See also Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>11</sup> Ralph Block, "Propaganda as an Instrument of Foreign Policy," *Department of State Bulletin*, June 19, 1950, p. 988.

<sup>9</sup> See Wilson Compton, "An Organization for International Information," *Department of State Bulletin*, March 24, 1952, p. 444, and Howland H. Sargeant, "The Overt International Information and Educational Exchange Programs of the United States," *Department of State Bulletin*, March 31, 1952, pp. 484-85.

A more specific listing of these policy aims (still in broad terms) is to be found in a State Department booklet on the "Campaign of Truth":

(1) To strengthen the unity of those nations devoted to the cause of freedom and to show that their interests and those of the United States coincide;

(2) To spread the conviction that the United States is an enlightened, strong, and determined power deserving the full support of other free nations;

(3) To stimulate among free nations the building of unified strength necessary to deter aggression and secure peace;

(4) To develop and maintain psychological resistance to Soviet tyranny and imperialism.<sup>12</sup>

In line with this sharpening of objectives and the sizable expansion of facilities, an administrative reorganization of the information program was made on January 18, 1952. It has been pointed out that the OWI as an independent agency was so far removed from centers of policy formulation in the departments of State, Army, and Navy that its operational policy suffered from imperfect co-ordination with strategic objectives.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, criticism, especially by certain members of Congress, was directed at the Office of International Information and Education Exchange (OIE) for being so completely within the State Department that a free-swinging, propagandistic effectiveness was hampered by the fact that it was the right arm of the diplomatic body. The recent reorganization represents a compromise move in the direction of autonomy in that it establishes the information program as a separate agency within the State Department, with its own administrator, while still keeping its operation closely linked to departmental policy.

Dr. Wilson Compton, a businessman, lobbyist for lumber interests, and a former president of the State College of Washington, was named administrator of the International Information Administration (IIA). Heading a unit that is supposed to have acquired a higher status, "reflecting the increased importance of its work," the administrator reports directly to the Secretary and Undersecretary of State. He is no longer responsible to the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, who, under the former organization, directed both information policy and operations.<sup>14</sup> The administrator of the IIA gains, therefore, a consolidation of authority in his own hands which in the past was somewhat divided between the general manager of the program, who handled operations, the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs (operations and policy), the regional bureaus, and the central administrative offices of the department.<sup>15</sup> It is too soon to estimate the effects of this reorganization on the information program, but Dr. Compton in his testimony before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, in February, 1952, emphasized four factors pertaining to the change: (1) close co-ordination of the program with foreign-policy objectives; (2) flexibility of operation, so that information attention can be shifted quickly to areas that become "hot spots"; (3) increased reliance upon decisions by field officers respecting the needs of their areas; and (4) constant evaluation of the effectiveness of the information operations. Stress was also put on frequent consultation with Congress and co-operation with private enterprise in the United States.

<sup>12</sup> United States Department of State, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-49, 292-97, 320.

<sup>14</sup> Sargeant, *op. cit.*, pp. 486-87.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 485-88. Cf. Department of State Press Release 43, January 17, 1952.

In summary, then, the United States information program under pressure from intensified Soviet hostility has outgrown tentative hemispheric efforts at cultural exchange and has become a multimillion-dollar, world-wide enterprise. The character of its communication has changed from an emphasis on the full and fair picture of the United States to more selective, more purposeful information and news designed to affect the attitudes of a huge and diversified foreign audience. The whole program is closely tied to foreign policy objectives and is considered an important weapon in the cold war. It remains to be seen how the information library fits into this new emphasis on propagandistic purpose and how this new emphasis has affected the operation of overseas libraries.

#### ORIGINS AND KINDS OF OVERSEAS LIBRARIES

It would be a challenging task to write the history of the United States overseas libraries. The data are scattered in magazines and booklets, hidden in books, and buried deep in official reports. This brief section is not intended even as a substitute for the unwritten saga; it will serve merely to characterize three kinds of library installation in terms of their origin.

#### BINATIONAL CENTERS

The binational centers or institutes, as they are variously called, were the first full-scale institutions devoted to international educational exchange with which the United States had anything to do. (The American reading rooms of the Creel Committee in Mexico were small scale and short lived.) The idea for them originated when a group of United States citizens living in Argentina joined with interested nationals in 1927 to found a binational society at Buenos Aires under

the name Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano. Teachers of "American English" were requested from the States to conduct English classes.

The concept spread quickly to other American republics, and by 1940 there were seven more centers at Havana, Port-au-Prince, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago, Lima, and Caracas, all established before the government got under way with its official agencies for cultural co-operation. In June, 1951, the United States recognized the value of these existing establishments for long-range cultural exchange by inaugurating a program of assistance in the form of grants to North American administrative and teaching personnel and by furnishing books and other educational materials. Today, under such names as "Instituto," "Centro," "Clube," "Academia," "União," and "Associação," there are, as of June, 1952, thirty of them in twenty Latin-American republics and four in the Near and Far East.

On an average they derive about 60 per cent of their support from classes and membership dues as well as from local contributions. What additional funds are needed come from the Department of State, and the centers are technically under the jurisdiction of the Information Center Service (ICS). They are nonprofit institutions incorporated under local laws of the countries in which they operate, and they have a board of directors made up of resident North Americans and nationals of the host country, with an executive secretary (generally from the United States) in charge. The staff, mostly teachers, might consist of two or three North Americans to thirty nationals. The functions of the centers include English teaching, library service (some circulated as many as 5,000 volumes to members annually), assistance in schol-

arships and exchange of persons, and such cultural and recreational programs as discussion forums, music recitals, drama productions, and even basketball.

While the major emphasis is upon English teaching, some centers have built up rather extensive collections of North American books and periodicals, together with some translations of American authors. In this case, a full-fledged library operation flourishes under the direction of either itinerant librarians from the United States or a resident North American librarian.

Starting in 1951, the binational concept was extended to the Eastern Hemisphere. The co-operative, nonpolitical aspect of the cultural center has been found particularly appealing in underdeveloped areas where book services are most effectively used in conjunction with general community activities. The first was established at Teheran on April 11, 1951, and others have followed at Ankara, Rangoon, and Bangkok. As in four Latin-American republics, these binational centers operated in conjunction with full-scale USIS programs and information libraries.

Since these binational centers are not pure library operations, they will not be included in the central theme of this paper.<sup>16</sup> They are not to be confused with the United States libraries which also originated in Latin America but at a later date and which will be considered next.

#### ALA AND OWI LIBRARIES

If the American reading rooms established by the Creel Committee can be

<sup>16</sup> Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 167, 177; Edmund R. Murphy, *Cooperation with Cultural Centers in the Other American Republics* (Department of State Publication 2994 [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947]), pp. 25-33; Department of State, *The Campaign of Truth*; Department of State, *USIE Newsletter*, July, 1951.

considered forerunners of the binational centers, the earliest prototype of the information library may be said to be the nongovernmental American Library in Paris. Using a collection of books that had been sent over to France for the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I, a group of American residents in Paris founded a reading and reference library on May 20, 1920. Supported by nominal subscription fees and gifts from friends, the American Library in 1950 had more than 100,000 volumes.<sup>17</sup>

The Paris installation, however, was strictly a private enterprise and only remotely a model for the information library, which had rather as its direct predecessor the Benjamin Franklin Library (Biblioteca Benjamin Franklin) in Mexico City. As early as 1939 tentative plans were drawn up for such an institution by librarians and scholars in both Mexico and the United States but failed through lack of funds. Money for the project was finally obtained from the United States, through the joint efforts of the Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs and the Department of State in July, 1941. The Biblioteca Benjamin Franklin opened on April 13, 1942—Pan-American Day. A contract between the co-ordinator's office and State Department and the American Library Association assigned to the latter the funds and the responsibility for establishing and administering the library. The emphasis here was on the reading collection of 5,000 volumes selected in consultation with specialists by the three contractors and the Library of Congress. Its function was to increase "friendly relations and understanding between the

<sup>17</sup> Elizabeth C. Madden, "Our Paris Library Needs Help," *Library Journal*, LXXI (December 1, 1946), 1659-62, and "American Library in Paris Celebrates 30th Anniversary," *ibid.*, LXXV (September 15, 1950), 1486-87.



people of Mexico and the United States through the medium of books, periodicals, information services, and educational activities."<sup>18</sup> English-teaching classes were also held, but eventually the school separated from the library. Its first librarian was Harry M. Lydenberg.

Three other libraries, similarly established by the United States and the ALA, appeared within the next year or so in Managua (Biblioteca Americana de Nicaragua, November, 1942), in Montevideo (Biblioteca Artigas-Washington, August, 1943), and later in Buenos Aires, Argentina. When the State Department assumed operation of all United States information libraries in January, 1946, the ALA offered to terminate its contract for these libraries by the end of the year.<sup>19</sup>

Meanwhile, the Office of War Information (OWI), with jurisdiction outside the Western Hemisphere, inaugurated its library program by establishing what has been called the first *official* government library outside the continental United States in the American embassy building in London. With a reference collection of about 2,000 books and 400 magazines, and Richard H. Heindel as director, the London library was open by December, 1942, but was inaugurated officially in May, 1943, on the anniversary of Hitler's burning of the books.

Five other information libraries throughout the British Commonwealth were organized during the autumn of 1943 and the beginning of 1944. On February 16, 1944, the second OWI library was officially dedicated at Sydney, Australia, to be followed by others at Mel-

bourne, Wellington, Johannesburg, and, later, Bombay and Cairo. The nature, scope, and aims of these libraries were set forth in the *State Department Bulletin* of October 2, 1943:

The American Library in London and the five new libraries are designed to service writers, the press, radio, American missions, local government agencies, and educational, scientific, and cultural institutions and organizations. They are not lending libraries for casual readers, nor are they in any sense propaganda centers or distributors of pamphlets. A small, highly selective library containing reference material produced in the United States provides information which can best reach the masses of people in an allied country through the media of the press, the radio, and educational institutions. Besides offering direct information on many subjects, the libraries will consult with special libraries and will assist libraries and organizations within the respective countries in securing for their own use materials about the United States. Significant American books and reports will be brought to the attention of people likely to be interested in using them.<sup>20</sup>

The basic collections of these later libraries consisted of 1,000 books, 3,000 pamphlets and government documents, and 130 American periodicals. The nature of this material about the United States embraced standard biographies, histories, travel books, and collections of public law; encyclopedias, dictionaries, and almanacs for reference use; classics of American literature, source works in technological and scientific fields, including government publications; and a few textbooks and serious volumes on politics, economics, sociology, and psychology. To this initial collection were added materials particularly appropriate to the area in which the library was located and even some fiction and occasionally children's books. A few of the installations

<sup>18</sup> Andy G. Wilkison, *Biblioteca Benjamin Franklin* (Department of State Publication 2994 [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947]), p. 20.

<sup>19</sup> Charles Thomson, "The Emerging Program of Cultural Relations," *ALA Bulletin*, XXXVIII (February, 1944), 76.

<sup>20</sup> Ruth M. Gurin and H. M. Baumgartner, "U.S. Information Libraries Prove Their Worth," *Library Journal*, LXXI (February 1, 1946), 138.

carried out cultural programs based on American pictorial exhibits, music programs, and film showings.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to the six British Commonwealth libraries, the OWI by the spring of 1944 maintained small collections of books and periodicals in eight of its information outposts for the use of its staffs in handling inquiries from the public about the United States. These outposts functioned as centers of information services, distributing posters and leaflets, showing films, and providing recordings to local press and publications facilities. Located in various war theaters (the eight outposts mentioned were in Lisbon, Madrid, Istanbul, Cairo, Moscow, Chungking, Beirut, and Damascus), these were propaganda and psychological warfare installations. Some of the small libraries they accumulated served as the basis for collections of future information libraries.

In fact, these outpost and British Commonwealth establishments were the nuclei of the libraries that came under State Department auspices in 1946. It is worth noting that, while the ALA installations were largely modeled on the operation of the American public library, these OWI centers served principally as reference libraries. Under the direction of the Division of Libraries and Institutes (ILI), these information libraries have grown to number 196 in sixty-four different countries by January, 1953.<sup>22</sup> These particular libraries are the *information li-*

*braries* which are the principal subject of this paper.

#### INFORMATION CENTERS

In the occupied areas of Germany, Austria, Japan, Korea, and Trieste, library installations developed under the auspices of American Military Government of the United States Army. They were called "information centers," and because they were founded to promote the specific aim of reorientation of occupied peoples and institutions, which meant among other things that the funds allotted to their operation were substantial, they assumed a somewhat different character from the other government libraries.

The general principle of selection applying both to books and serials is that (with the exception of certain subjects forbidden in the enemy countries, such as aeronautics and military science) as representative a collection of significant United States publications in all fields of knowledge as may be secured under budgetary limitations should be made widely available in the occupied areas. Particular emphasis is being placed on the publications of the period 1939 to date, and on the works of writers banned in those areas during the period of dictatorship.<sup>23</sup>

Shortly after hostilities ended in Germany, the United States Military Government (OMGUS) opened a small library for Germans on July 4, 1945, at Bad Homburg, Hesse. (The original planning for such centers had been done by the Psychological Warfare Division, SHAEF. Lists of desirable books were drawn up and placed on order through the United States Information Service in Paris to the OWI.) It was soon evident that such centers should be located in large cities, and so in September the Bad

<sup>21</sup> Thomson, *Overseas Information Service of the United States Government*, p. 64.

<sup>22</sup> Richard H. Heindel, "U.S. Libraries Overseas," *Survey Graphic*, May, 1946, pp. 162-65; Cedric Larson, "Books across the Sea: Libraries of the OWI," *Wilson Library Bulletin*, XXV (February, 1951), 433-36; "U.S. Information Libraries Abroad," *Library Journal*, LXVIII (November 1, 1943), 897-98; Chester S. Williams, "U.S. Information Libraries," *Special Libraries*, XXXV (May-June, 1944), 170-74.

<sup>23</sup> War Department statement dated May 1, 1947, in "Information Centers," *U.S. Library of Congress Information Bulletin*, June 17-23, 1947, pp. 11-12.

Homburg library was moved to Frankfurt, where as the American Library it has become the central administrative point for similar libraries throughout Germany. A second library opened in Berlin in November, 1945, based on a donation of 500 books from Army Special Services, and a third got started in Munich in December, 1945 (Munich's has since become one of the largest and most sumptuous of the centers). These grew to number about 50, plus 137 smaller reading rooms, and spread through the American Zone to the major cities of the British and French zones. As of January, 1953, the reading rooms had been for the most part turned over to the Germans, and the information centers numbered 47.

Many of these centers began their collections with discards from the Army service libraries, but by 1947 identical holdings of about 3,000–5,000 books and 300 current periodicals were being furnished the installations.

Each of the Information Centers consisted of a large library room and several reference or reading rooms. The reading rooms contained general reference works on such varied subjects as history, natural science, art, literature, medicine, as well as cataloged reference pamphlets. Although much of the material at the beginning was in English, efforts were made to supply German translations of American books.<sup>24</sup>

A contest was held among the early German patrons of these centers to determine what they should be called, and the name *Amerika Haus* was suggested and adopted.<sup>25</sup> The centers in Japan and

Korea were as successful as their German-Austrian counterparts. After they were taken over by the Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany in 1949, the centers there came under State Department supervision; and on April 28, 1952, ICS assumed responsibility for 23 Japanese centers.

The *Amerika Haeuser* and the information centers share a distinguishing characteristic: they combine a library operation with extensive community services. The information library keeps the printed materials at the core of its activities, with film showings, concerts, English teaching, and the like as ancillary; the book holdings of the information centers, however, are just one facet in their general cultural and informational programs. The book collection of the average *Amerika Haus* (16,000 volumes) is larger than that of the average information library, and about 25 per cent of its holdings consist of translations in German. These assets, together with the elaborate and very popular community programs (including many for children), are the happy outcome, among other things, of generous budget allotments, with the result that the information centers are looked upon as among the most successful of overseas information operations.

#### FACTS ABOUT ICS

As of January, 1953, the Information Center Service of the Department of State was directly responsible for the operation of 196 United States information centers and information libraries in 64 different countries. In addition to the 7 information libraries in Latin America which the Department directly supervises, it gives support to 30 binational centers in the American republics, plus 4 more in the Near and Far East. This

<sup>24</sup> Office of Military Government for Germany, *History of Information Control Division, May, 1945–June, 1946*, p. 47.

<sup>25</sup> Henry P. Pilgert, *The History of the Development of Information Services through Information Centers and Documentary Films* (Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany, 1951), p. 9.

makes a grand total of 230 installations in seventy-five countries which are under the general supervision of ICS.

The total number of book holdings in the United States information centers, excluding the binational centers, amounts to about 1,800,000 volumes. These circulate annually to an estimated 9,855,996 persons, and visitors to the libraries overseas number approximately 27,000,000. Statistics on shipment figures from the New York Service Section to installations in the field are interesting. Between January, 1946 (when the State Department took over the libraries), and June, 1951, there were sent overseas 1,856,723 books, pamphlets, periodicals, and other printed materials. Of this amount, roughly 75 per cent were books. In the fiscal year July, 1951—June, 1952, 1,713,159 items were shipped abroad. The grand total of these shipments amounted to 3,569,882. From the beginning of the State Department's operation of the libraries to June 30, 1952, expenditures for books amounted to \$4,313,874.09 and for periodicals in the same period, \$2,350,949.57.<sup>26</sup>

Supporting this world-wide operation is ICS-Washington with a budget for 1952 estimated to be \$4,716,123. A variety of activities, other than pure library service, comes out of this budget. Some word of explanation about the branches and units within ICS is relevant here.

As with so many agencies of the federal government, ICS has been subjected to a series of internal reorganizations. According to the latest table of organization, dated January, 1953, the office of the chief of ICS (he is now termed "Assistant Administrator for Information

Center Service") is flanked by the Program Guidance Staff (dedicated to overall, long-range planning and policy) and the Administrative and Management Staff, which is responsible for Washington personnel, fiscal matters, and library equipment and supplies, and by the New York Service Section, which buys and ships material for use overseas.

Directly under the administrator are three divisions: Center Operations, Publications, and Special Programs Divisions. The Center Operations Division in turn breaks down into six branches, five of which represent geographical areas of the world (Inter-America, Germany-Austria, Near East, Europe, and Far East) in accord with the mapping that prevails throughout IIA and the State Department. Each of these branches is staffed with so-called programs officers—professional librarians (most of whom have had overseas experience) and area experts who maintain direct contact with field personnel. The sixth branch under the Center Operations Division is the Program Services Branch, which has three sections devoted to providing human and library materials to the field: the Review and Appraisals Section, the Selection Section, and the Staffing and Training Section, the last being concerned with overseas personnel.

The two other divisions are concerned with activities ancillary to basic library operations. The Special Programs Division splits into the Exhibits Branch (for visual materials, with the exception of fine art, which has been suppressed by Congress), the English-teaching Branch (supplying the binational centers and those libraries which make use of language classes to attract borrowers), and the Music Section. The Publications Division supervises functions still further removed from library practices; the

<sup>26</sup> These statistics were obtained from the New York Service Section of ICS, Margaret Conlan, chief. (Other facts and figures were kindly supplied by Edith L. Saunders at ICS-Washington.)

Translations Branch handles foreign-language rights for the publishing of full-length and condensed books. The Publications Promotion Branch has both a Presentation Section for gifts and a Promotions Section for the distribution of loan collections. The Informational Media Guaranty Branch operates essentially as an agency to facilitate negotiations in the field for the purchase in local currency of American publications and educational materials. Some overseas libraries receive filmstrips and recordings from other agencies within IIA, such as the Press and Publications Service, but these activities are outside the scope of this paper.

#### THE INFORMATION LIBRARY TODAY: ITS MATERIALS AND ITS ACTIVITIES

Information libraries are too numerous and too diversified to permit exhaustive description. However, if the binational centers and the *Amerika Hauser* are excluded, selective comments on the kinds of materials, their selection, processing, and dissemination, and on facilities and personnel should indicate the general character of the library operation.

The *Educational Exchange Manual* provides an official definition of the sort of books, periodicals, government documents, and music that should go into overseas installations. Section 421.1, entitled "General Policies," reads:

The materials selected for distribution abroad shall consist of United States publications, music, educational and cultural materials which will support the foreign policy of the United States, promote an understanding abroad of the United States, and increase mutual understanding between the people of this country and the peoples of other countries. Emphasis shall be placed on selecting materials to meet local conditions and interests in the individual countries as interpreted by re-

sponsible field personnel. Governmental and nongovernmental organizations and experts in special fields shall be consulted to assure the most accurate and characteristic portrayal of the United States.

421.21 United States information centers shall be regularly supplied with significant and useful books and pamphlets on important aspects of the United States and the American way of life, so that they can maintain well-rounded, relatively small collections of current materials which will present a balanced view of the United States. These publications shall include basic reference and bibliographic materials, examples of American scientific, governmental, historical, social and cultural development, as well as current topical publications which present a balance of the opinion and thinking in the United States on national and international questions.

The *Manual* adds that *Amerika Hauser* in Germany and Austria shall receive, in addition to American publications, those of any country that propagate democratic culture and aid in social and political reorientation.

These definitions include three prevailing characteristics of overseas collections: they are small (total book stock in the libraries in 1952 was less than that of one large public library in the United States); they are current (the libraries make no claim to be research libraries); and they are balanced in the sense that no sectarian viewpoint predominates. Most collections are balanced also in that they contain a representative variety of many sorts of books, ranging from technical treatises to children's books. The overseas holdings differ in two major respects from those of a small public or reference library in the United States: all but a few of the books are American publications, and the titles selected are intended to support specific objectives in the international information program.

The basic collections of the information libraries were, as has been mentioned, 1,000 books and printed materi-

als largely of a uniform nature. Once the library was established, however, differences appeared, for, as Heindel has stated, "every outpost library should within two or three months begin to have a different personality or it is not fitting effectively into the map of the country."<sup>27</sup> Today, with distinctions among areas drawn more sharply, even a new installation will have an appropriately tailored collection. In Scandinavia and the more sophisticated areas of western Europe, for example, much emphasis is put on works of American literature (particularly fiction), while in the Near and Far East elementary technical and scientific materials (especially pamphlets) predominate.

#### BOOKS

Those concerned with policy-making in ICS think in terms of three broad categories of books:

1. *Descriptions of the United States*.—Commentary by both Americans and visitors is included here even if it is critical (provided, of course, that it is grounded in the sound interpretation of a De Tocqueville and not the bias of an Ilya Ehrenburg). Books on the American Negro problem and magazines critical of the Democratic Administration (like *Time*) have impressed readers in India and elsewhere with the credibility of material in these government-sponsored libraries. The library director is often asked: "Are you giving us only what you want us to know?" and "What line do your collections take?" Reference to Myrdal's *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* and copies of the *Reporter* or the *Nation* (the presence of which overseas recently scandalized cer-

tain members of Congress) greatly enhance acceptance of the whole United States information program.

2. *Examples of American achievements in the humanities and the natural and social sciences*.—These must be of American authorship and include novels; "how-to" and technical books in medicine, agriculture, industrial relations, and the like; and a whole range of the best in American writing and thought. Hitherto, technical books have been especially stocked, "because American ideas, American techniques, and American progress have become of paramount concern to millions of people around the globe," but recently librarians are reported to have received from readers such remarks as: "You have wonderful gadgets and inventions, but what about your culture? Do you have any?" Certain missions, particularly the newer ones in the Near East and Asia, have extensive collections of children's books, which they use in conjunction with story hours and other activities in a children's alcove. Views of American writers on the international scene are logical inclusions, too, for, as Heindel has expressed it: "Overseas it is just as important in our contribution to know not only the rivers of America but what the people on those rivers write about rivers of the world."<sup>28</sup>

3. *Works in accord with United States foreign policy*.—This is a comparatively new category supplementing works of purely American authorship. It comprehends such titles by non-American writers as *Nineteen Eighty-four* by George Orwell, *Policy for the West* by Barbara Ward, and *Russian Purge and the Extradition of Confession* by F. Beck and W. Godin. Many, not all, selections in this category reflect the anti-Communist em-

<sup>27</sup> Richard H. Heindel, "An Outpost Library at Work," *Library Journal*, LXVIII (December 1, 1943), 980.

<sup>28</sup> Richard H. Heindel, "The American Library Abroad," *Library Quarterly*, XVI (April, 1946), 96.

phasis of the other information media. An equal number are more positive in that they support the policy of achieving world peace through establishing "situations of strength" in the democracies. As the administrator of ICS has expressed it, such selections represent a recent conviction in the department that it is more important at this time to provide books that support American aims, whoever the author, than to supply only pleasant commentaries on American life and customs in the expectation that to be understood is to be liked and to be liked is to assure the triumph of United States interests in such remote (but crucial) locales as Afghanistan and Indonesia.

#### SERIALS

Serials to be found on the shelves of the information libraries are of three broad types: *reference tools*, such as the H. W. Wilson indexes and the R. R. Bowker journals for selection, and informational annuals, such as the municipal yearbooks and almanacs; *general Americana*, including the whole range of popular magazines from *Life* to *Theatre Arts*; and *trade publications* of a specialized nature for areas with particular interests, such as *Textile World* for Bombay and the *Journal of Chemistry* for Zurich. ICS has a basic list of seventy-five periodicals: the first group of twenty-five includes nationally popular items like the *Saturday Evening Post*; the second group is slightly more specialized, with such magazines as the *American Builder* and the *Journal of Home Economics*; a third selection of twenty-five comprises government periodicals such as *Foreign Commerce Weekly* and *School Life*. The post with a large budget will subscribe to all three groups, but funds, plus area suitability, will determine many changes in this basic listing. Those serials listed,

however, represent an approved selection which, in the words of the *Educational Exchange Manual*, "have been evaluated in accordance with professional standards which have been found most in demand in all United States information centers. . . . Other subscriptions shall be provided as requested by the individual center."

Certain of the larger centers subscribe to air editions of one or two daily newspapers, and most get Sunday editions of the *New York Times*. Local serials are obtained only in rare instances, since the information library is not intended to substitute for national facilities. Problems of space and the time lapse hold American newspaper subscriptions to a minimum, and air editions are generally costly.

#### FREE AND INEXPENSIVE MATERIALS

Especially useful for reference work are American free and inexpensive materials consisting of pamphlets, circulars, booklets, mimeographed sheets, maps, broadsides, and the like. They come individually or in bulk from a multitude of private and governmental sources, such as international, state, and municipal agencies, chambers of commerce, educational institutions (college catalogs are in particular demand for student exchange activities), industrial plants, travel organizations, women's associations, business firms, and private foundations.

These materials represent a mine of valuable, if hard to manage, information. Some are kept for reference in vertical files; others serve as presentation copies to local schools, libraries, and other organizations. Occasionally the program officers at ICS will make up and send to the libraries in their area a packet of these materials together with some books on a specific subject like soil conservation or collective bargaining. These are very

popular with the libraries, and there are probably more field requests for them than for books (a shipment, for example, on an aspect of women's affairs might contain only ten books to one hundred pamphlets).

#### FEDERAL DOCUMENTS

The *Educational Exchange Manual* states that the libraries shall

be regularly supplied with United States Government publications so that at all times there will be available in the centers basic collections of important new official publications on subjects which are known to be of world-wide interest. These publications shall include annual reports, bulletins, and special reports by various Government agencies, as well as the publications of the United States Congress and its special committees.

These materials are mostly the responsibility of the Program Services Branch, described in more detail later. In the Selection Section three units are engaged in acquiring publications that supplement books and serials and form a large part of overseas library collections. They are the Federal Documents Unit, the International, State, and Local Documents Unit, and the Free and Inexpensive Materials Unit.<sup>29</sup>

The great bulk of the library collections is in English, because the libraries are American installations. In some areas, however, a small percentage of the holdings, seldom more than 10 per cent, includes translations of American works in the native language.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> For further accounts of their activities see *USIE Newsletter*, October, 1951, pp. 12-13, and August, 1951, p. 21.

<sup>30</sup> In binational centers the percentage would be higher, and in the *Amerika Haeuser* it has been estimated that about 25 per cent of the books are in the German language. "The works in German are purchased in Switzerland, Sweden, Holland, and in Germany, a good many of them from publishers who have secured translation rights through the American program," which is discussed later (Pilger, *op. cit.*, p. 22).

Also, a small part of library holdings consists of gifts other than the free and inexpensive materials acquired by the Selection Section. These gifts are procured on a large scale by the Private Enterprise Co-operation Staff (ICO) of IIA. This unit represents the oft-expressed resolution of Congress that the international information program should in no way compete with private information agencies but should enlist their co-operation as much as possible. Although this policy is explicitly stated in Section 403 of Public Law 402, it has always applied more to other media than to the information libraries. ICO, however, does occasionally obtain bulk gifts for the libraries, mainly in the form of industrial and commercial publications.

Other gifts in less bulk come unsolicited from private sources, such as women's club book drives, attic cleanings, personal libraries, and special donations from returnees. All these gifts are screened in terms of their utility to the program and with consideration for the cost of their processing.

#### AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS

As many information libraries as have the facilities make use of films, exhibits, music, and other audio-visual resources. However, films are generally kept in a regional films library under supervision of the International Motion Pictures Service, and exhibits are temporary possessions that tour from post to post or are circulated through local institutions. Installations with sufficient space have small collections of musical recordings and scores. According to the *Educational Exchange Manual*, these collections are "characteristic of the best American music" and are used "to further the knowledge and appreciation of significant American music through perform-



ance and study and, in addition, through the use of phonograph records, to demonstrate the performance standards of American orchestras and concert artists." Heindel remarked of the busy London library, of which he was the first director, that "American music of all kinds, both scores and recordings, comes very near the top of our requests."<sup>31</sup>

#### SELECTION AND PROCUREMENT

*Printed materials.*—The importance of selection policy and procurement procedures warrants full-length treatment.<sup>32</sup> This paper will center attention mainly on the acquisition of printed materials, which form the bulk of the library collections, and on the activities in this regard of the Review and Appraisals and the Selection Sections of ICS.

Selection policy for information libraries is an elusive compound of information program aims, the various kinds of libraries and their needs, and ICS selection criteria. The first two aspects have already been discussed. Regarding ICS criteria, a concise statement of certain guiding principles is to be found in a memorandum that was submitted by ICS in February, 1952, to the newly formed Committee on Books Abroad, a subcommittee of the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange.<sup>33</sup> This memorandum states that the objectives of selection are to promote the national security of the United States

by providing published materials which will assist in creating respect for the democratic ideals and institutions of the United States abroad by making available American contributions to the humanities and the sciences, which will interpret American foreign policy, with particular reference to Soviet aggression, and which will reveal the fallacy of the Communist doctrine.

The criteria governing such selection are listed as furtherance of program objectives; American authorship, supplemented by foreign writers promoting program objectives; authority of the writer; usefulness and appeal in the area and to the groups to be reached; significance and currentness of the publications; and, finally, literary quality. A note adds that magazine subscriptions are placed in accord with these criteria, even though occasional articles in individual issues may not always further program objectives. This note excuses the evident impossibility of screening all the contents of every periodical that goes overseas.

The actual selection process involving the application of these general criteria is a complex matter. Within ICS-Washington there are seven sections and seven branches concerned with selection, plus each library director in the field and his chief of mission. Specific decisions are

<sup>31</sup> Richard H. Heindel, "American Libraries in Foreign Service," *Special Libraries*, XXXVIII (January, 1947), 4.

<sup>32</sup> The only extended study is the unpublished M.S. thesis by Gregory Babin, "The Book Selection Policy of the United States Information Libraries" (Catholic University, 1950), which is incomplete and outdated. An excellent but very brief summary of selection procedures for OWI libraries is contained in Gurin and Baumgartner, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-41.

<sup>33</sup> Section 801(6) of Public Law 402 authorizes the Secretary of State to appoint such committees of experts in the field of publication as he may "decide to be of assistance in formulating his policies for carrying out the purposes of this Act." At the request of ICS-Washington through IIA, the Secretary of State on January 14, 1952, appointed members to the Committee on Books Abroad. With Martin R. P. McGuire, professor of Latin and Greek at Catholic University and a member of its parent-body, the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, as chairman, the committee consists of four other members: Cass Canfield, Robert L. Crowell, Robert B. Downs, and Lewis Hanke.

shaped by such factors as availability of materials, advice from specialists outside the program, particular area conditions and needs, budgetary and space considerations at each library, the nature and size of the particular collection, the country plans and guidance directives for the mission, and, of course, the over-all book knowledge and propaganda sense of those initiating selection in the home office and the field.

Understanding of the selection process may be helped by indicating the procedures involved first in establishing a hypothetical information library.

The Review and Appraisals Section will draw up a basic list for a new installation of about 1,500 titles, sometimes more, sometimes less, depending on the size and budget of the proposed library. This list is also conditioned by area interests and reading level. For northern Italy, labor relations would be stressed; for Southeast Asia, elementary texts, with many pictures, on agricultural problems might be emphasized. The list as a whole would consist of general reference works and writings on American life, all of which had been screened in accord with selection criteria.

This list would then be sent to the particular program officer in the Center Operations Division who is responsible for the area where the library is located. If possible, the new library director would also be asked to join in tailoring the list. Orders complete with bibliographical detail would go to the Selection Section to be typed on control form DS-12, which is sent to the New York Service Section for processing. Besides giving bibliographical data, these order forms indicate what funds are involved, how the material is to be shipped, and to what destination. (Only a few rush orders go by air pouch,

the cost of which may run as high as the retail price of the book.)

Each overseas library has a budget established on the basis of the priority of the area, size of the population served, and available appropriations from Congress. Proper "hand-tailoring" by the library director of his collection has been hampered in the past by the fact that many librarians were not informed as to how much money they had to spend until too late to plan a balanced selection. Beginning with fiscal year 1952 (July 1, 1951—June 30, 1952) the field agencies were sent specific budget notification in January for orders that had to be in before July. For fiscal 1953 it is hoped that notice will go out to each post a few weeks after Congress makes the over-all appropriation. The fiscal section of Administrative and Management in ICS-Washington is working with program officers to lay out post budgets in advance and expects that about 75 per cent of each library's total budget will be allocated to cover requests from the field.

Once an information library is in operation, the selection process fluctuates between the field and ICS-Washington, with the Selection Section delegated the responsibility for screening and filling requests from the field. These have been variously estimated to constitute from 70 to 80 per cent of the published materials that are sent overseas (the remainder include selections made by ICS for the monthly book packet and special lists).<sup>34</sup> These requests come to the program officers in two forms: for a specific title or for material of a particular type or on a

<sup>34</sup> Examples of the diversity of these requests appear in the Department of State, *USIE Newsletter*, January, 1952, p. 16: "From Cairo comes a request for material on desert plants; Teheran asks for information on road building; The Hague needs literature on the operation of a flying control tower."

special subject. They are based on selections made by the library director, who is guided in his choice by requests from his clientele (which he usually notes on request slips and sends back to Washington *en bloc*) and by suggestions he finds in his selection tools, such as the *Standard Catalog for Public Libraries* or reviewing serials.<sup>35</sup> The program officers scan both kinds of requests for program and area suitability and in the light of budget allotments before forwarding them on to the Selection Section.

In this Section and the Review and Appraisals Section the steps involved in the selection process are essentially two: finding out what is available by means of the standard indexes and evaluating the available publications. Availability is determined by the usual library procedure of searching such bibliographic guides as the *Publishers' Trade List Annual*, *Cumulative Book Index*, *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, *Ayer's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals*, and the *Monthly Catalogue of U.S. Public Documents* and specialized bibliographies of which R. R. Hawkins' *Scientific, Medical and Technical Books Published in the United States of America* (the publication of which received assistance from the Department of State) is among the most frequently used.

Evaluation is a more intricate process, involving the application of selection cri-

teria and the use of reviews in such general and specialized serials as the *New York Times Book Review*, the *Saturday Review*, *Technical Book Review Index*, *Subscription Books Bulletin*, the *U.S. Quarterly Book Review*, and many others.<sup>36</sup> Because of the time lag between date of publication of the book and appearance of reviews, the Bibliographic Section consults forecasts in the *Library Journal* and *Publishers' Weekly* (the bookshop services are considered too commercial) and requests galley proofs from the publishers for review purposes. However, the factor of shipping time makes inevitable an extensive delay from the time the book is discovered to when it reaches library shelves overseas, a delay that is one of the most vexing problems for librarians in the field. Reports dating as far back as 1946 and as recently as October, 1951, indicate that the machinery of discovering, appraising, requesting, ordering, buying, shipping, cataloging, and shelving has remained complex and slow-moving. Shipping time to India and posts in Southeast Asia consumes as many as three months, and the wheels of selection and procurement at ICS-Washington have been known to move very slowly. Instances are reported where it has taken up to eight months for Washington to fill field orders for books. The consultants, Messrs. Carpenter, Crowell, and Kerr, in their 1951 report have indicated that this delay is significant in that most foreigners expect the United States information library to be the first place to get a new American work. The librarian takes their request,

<sup>35</sup> The "vexing question" of which requests shall be honored by the "beleaguered librarian" is discussed in Harland A. Carpenter, Robert L. Crowell, and Chester Kerr, *A Report on the Use of Books in the Department of State's Overseas Information Program* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951), p. 7. The consultants propose establishing a master check list based on the *Standard Catalog for Public Libraries* as a means of shortening the time-consuming bibliographic selection process. They were evidently not aware of the new annotated card system.

<sup>36</sup> Section 421.2 of the *Educational Exchange Manual* states: "The books and pamphlets selected shall be evaluated by the Department through the use of standard reviewing and selection aids and through consultation with specialists and other professional authorities."

but "frequently their interest (very valuable so far as the United States is concerned) has evaporated by the time the book has arrived."<sup>37</sup>

In addition to consulting its "special library" of selection tools, the selection sections, often consult with outside specialists and call on other libraries for assistance. The District of Columbia Public Library, for example, has offered advice in the selection of children's books, experts in the departments of Commerce and Agriculture have made up special lists on labor and farming, a packet on socialized medicine has been supplemented with suggestions obtained from the American Medical Association, and a professor at Howard University supplied a list on the Negro problem in America. All such lists are reviewed by ICS-Washington.

Members of the selection sections also consult frequently with the program officer of a particular area to be sure a choice suits local conditions. Recently, program officers in the European and Far Eastern branches have had the advice of special evaluation officers. It is the duty of these to comb field reports to learn about specific area needs. They have set up a catalog tray of cards indicating important target groups, materials found useful, forthcoming programs and activities, and needs and inadequacies. On the basis of suggestions found here and in their own "tickler" files, the program officers occasionally prepare a packet of publications designed to fulfil a present or anticipated area demand. In April, 1952, for example, the chief of the

Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Section was adapting an agricultural list previously compiled by the Review and Appraisals Section and had recently dispatched to her libraries in underdeveloped areas a set of the Row, Peterson science readers for school age.

The completion of an up-to-date union catalog of information library holdings has proved useful both to the selection sections (to answer frequent questions from Congress, for example) and to the program officers who heretofore have relied on lists of what had been sent from ICS to a particular library. Over two years in the making, the catalog contains fifty to sixty thousand Library of Congress cards on the back of each of which is printed 234 numbers representing present and potential posts. A key identifies a library as a number. Circles around numbers on the card indicate which libraries possess the title recorded on the face of the card. The Library of Congress has been under contract to co-ordinate the lists of library holdings which were sent in on cards, microfilms, and photostated sheets and to make up the cards for the union catalog.

Another innovation which is about to be put into operation early in 1953 is a system of annotated cards. These cards, which are designed to simplify the selection process, represent an adjunct to the book packet.

The monthly book packet, a set of twenty to twenty-five titles of recent publications which are dispatched to all information libraries once a month, originated in the OWI when certain selections were considered suitable for dissemination to all outposts. The packets were continued because they served the useful function of getting out quickly certain titles without waiting for a request from the field. Consisting of annuals, of cur-

<sup>37</sup> Carpenter, Crowell, and Kerr, *op. cit.*, p. 5. See also Lucile Dudgeon, "The State Department's Information Library Program Abroad," *D.C. Libraries*, January, 1947, pp. 24-26. The consultants suggested that ICS-Washington subscribe to a "top-ranking book appraisal service" (p. 5) to help close the time gap.

rent popular works of global interest, and of new editions of standard texts, they help to keep up to date and to round out overseas collections. Certain titles of more controversial themes, such as *Strange Lands and Friendly People* by William O. Douglas and *Cracks in the Kremlin Wall* by Edward Crankshaw, are marked for special handling by the local public affairs officer.<sup>38</sup>

These book packets are chosen by the Book Selection Committee, made up of program officers and representatives from other branches and sections of ICS-Washington. Suggestions are presented, discussed, and decided on in concert; final approval comes from the administrator of ICS and the chief of the Center Operations Division. The Carpenter-Crowell-Kerr report remarks that "these selections are made with diligence and the opinions of a great many people are taken into account. This Packet method of selection appears to be well liked in the field." The consultants did feel, however, that technical books have been overrepresented and that works reflecting American culture, even novels by young unknowns, would fill a growing demand.<sup>39</sup>

The book packets in the future will probably decrease in size and significance as the annotated card system develops. The procedure for these cards will be as follows: the selection sections will procure from the publisher certain titles in

galley-proof form. A list of titles chosen will be sent to the Library of Congress to be printed on colored stock of standard LC cards. However, a brief descriptive annotation written by the section will be inserted on the face of the card to indicate the subject matter, the author authority, the reading level, and other pertinent data. The Library of Congress will print the 3 × 5-inch cards and send each information library a set of four cards for each title. From these sets the library director will make a selection of those he wants and return two cards, stamped with the name and address of his post, to ICS-Washington. ICS will hold one card in its files and send the other to the New York Service Section as an order card. The library director will keep the other two cards in an order file, one by author, the other by subject. Those titles he does not want can be filed in case future needs should arise. The whole operation, from spotting the book to putting the volume in the mail, has been estimated to require a maximum of sixty days, shipping time not included.

In some respects these annotated cards will relieve the harried librarian of certain selection responsibility. However, the cards are intended as recommendations only, a sort of approved list, and the main benefits are supposed to be simplification and shortening of the selection

<sup>38</sup> An officer in ICS-Washington has made an interesting distinction between the "controversial book" and the book on a "controversial subject." The former might be represented by a diatribe on American persecution of the Negro by a contributor to *Masses and Mainstream*; the other by a critical but scholarly study of the Negro problem in America by an impartial, intelligent observer of the caliber of Gunnar Myrdal. The second only would be considered worth stocking, and then not in every post. Selection "censorship" is really more a skeptical attitude toward certain books with an appraisal of whether they would really advance United States interests in that particular area.

<sup>39</sup> Carpenter, Crowell, and Kerr, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 and 9. In the spring of 1951 the Program Services Branch (now called) made one of the first global distributions of "target packets"—sets aimed at particular groups, in this case, women's organizations. The packet consisted of federal and international documents relating to the status, interests, and activities of women the world over. They were timed to arrive at information libraries by August 26, the anniversary of women's suffrage in the United States. In the fall of this year a packet consisting largely of 4-H Club pamphlets was sent globally to be disseminated to young people interested in agriculture (see *USIE Newsletter*, October, 1951, p. 13).

process. Also, since the book-packet selections will probably be reduced in number, the overseas librarian will have more money for special requests.

*Other materials.*—As in the case of printed materials, the selection criteria for music, exhibits, and the whole range of library facilities from furniture to bookmobiles, are based on furtherance of information program objectives. As a branch chief in ICS-Washington expressed it, every choice must be psychologically justifiable in a program supported by public funds and subject to stringent congressional control. The last can be especially trying to ICS administrators. Few domestic libraries include among their trustees powerful enemies of their entire programs. The exposure in congressional hearings of a random selection, an unjustifiable expenditure, can endanger financial support of the whole program. The complaints voiced in the House of Representatives on May 13, 1947, by Congressman Fred E. Busbey regarding the Communist affiliations of an exhibitor in an art show of State Department sponsorship have since then smothered all attempts to present American art in an information center or in any congressionally supported installation abroad.

Accordingly, in a long statement of purpose, the Music Section of ICS-Washington has for the benefit of congressional watchdogs provided a political rationale for the use of this abstract Muse. Justification for its modest expenditures reads in part:

The music program has been organized to meet a steadily increasing interest in American music throughout the world. At the same time, its aim is not simply to satisfy curiosity, but to counteract the impression frequently held abroad that the United States is a materialistic country without spiritual interests or cultural abilities.

Practical application of these principles is evidenced recently by the fact that music of special interest to target areas has been emphasized; for example, the compositions of Allan Hovhaness, American-Armenian composer, have been sent to the Near East. But, as a rule, the selection of particular scores and phonograph records is determined by the head of the individual mission who decides what is best suited for his area, be it Western jazz or oriental lullabies. Space does not permit a detailed examination of how several sections in the Special Programs Division select and procure a miscellany of photographic panels, handicraft exhibits, English-teaching materials, recordings (dramatic as well as musical), and the like. It must suffice to repeat that selection is determined by program objectives and procurement by the materials available for a given set of funds.

#### PROCESSING

Virtually all the cataloging, classifying, book-marking, and assignment of subject headings is done at each overseas library. Nationals of the local area are widely employed, and under training and supervision by American librarians they have proved to be eager and capable workers who are frequently given professional responsibilities. The Library of Congress card, if it has arrived before the book, helps to shorten processing, although its bibliographic data are generally too elaborate for inclusion in a card catalog to be used by readers unfamiliar with English and American library practices. The annotated cards may shorten technical processing a little.

The department encourages the libraries to avoid elaborate procedures on the grounds that it is more important to get the volume quickly in circulation

than to do full cataloging. Also, in most posts the registration of borrowers is a simpler process than in an American library, and fines are seldom imposed. Classification which ranges from modified Dewey (fifteenth and sixteenth editions) to an amended Library of Congress scheme seldom is carried beyond one decimal point. Even so, processing is time-consuming, and, when added to the routine of quarterly statistical reports and semiannual evaluation reports, it is no wonder that some library directors complain of being bogged down in administrative detail.

Central processing is done in a few areas: at Rome for much of the Italian area, and at Frankfurt for all of the United States Zone of Germany. It has been suggested that the New York Service Section should process for all posts, but lack of space and personnel are given as reasons for the impracticability of this at present. And, of course, field processing does allow for better adaptability of the collection to local conditions and interests.

#### ACTIVITIES

In general, the public service activities of the information libraries are similar to those practiced by an alert public library in the United States. Overseas librarians more often than not are held back only by severe demands on their time and inability of ICS-Washington to backstop their endeavors with ample funds. One significant, unofficial function that overseas librarians have adopted since the days of the OWI operation has been to encourage, and co-operate in the development of, better local library service. Writing in 1946, Ruth Gurin and Harriet Baumgartner said: "Although it was not the purpose of the libraries to promote American librarianship as such,

it was inevitable that not only would the libraries themselves be studied as examples of American librarianship in action, but that the librarians would be called upon to discuss and demonstrate American methods, activities, techniques, and professional training."<sup>40</sup> The results of such service were expressed in two remarkable actions in 1947 and 1948 when a slash in the library budget caused ten overseas installations to be closed and their librarians recalled. One of these American librarians was appointed to the public library at New South Wales in Australia and another to the library school in Wellington, New Zealand.

In many countries the information libraries have represented a novel, democratic concept of free dissemination of culture not only in underdeveloped areas but in such nations as Germany and Italy. As Luther H. Evans, Librarian of Congress, has said:

The libraries abroad are managed in the best traditions of the American free public library. The use of books is encouraged by every possible means. The shelves are open to all. Loans are made by mail. No elaborate credentials are required. Attractive juvenile collections are maintained and children are aided in their use. But most important of all is the spirit of friendship and zeal for service which greets each visitor.<sup>41</sup>

Circulation is on a generous basis. All books that are not reference works go out, usually for periods of four weeks, and extra copies of magazines can be borrowed. The chief of ICS testified in Congress in February, 1952, that about 4,000,000 books were charged out of information libraries in 1951, and in Athens, to take a sample installation, the average American book

<sup>40</sup> Gurin and Baumgartner, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

<sup>41</sup> "United States Libraries Abroad," *Department of State Record*, May-June, 1951, p. 7.

circulates there approximately four times a year. . . . Considering that it is out about a month each time, that, in ordinary library terms, is very extensive use, and much higher than you would expect in a library at home. . . . For those books more actively used in the program, the circulation would be six and eight times a year, which is about as much as it is physically possible for them to circulate out of the library.<sup>42</sup>

In addition, extensive use is made of loan collections to target groups and organizations. In 1951, for example, ten such collections, each containing 486 titles on tropical agriculture, teacher-training, and the like, were sent to posts at Manila, Hong Kong, and Taipei; Helsinki received thirty collections, totaling 1,430 volumes; and traveling packets of 1,000 books each were directed to Turkey and Iran. These numbers are large, however, and most of the book displays assembled by the Promotion Section of ICS are composed of about 100 titles. They cover all kinds of subjects (although they are usually built on a certain theme) and are often in the form of paper reprints selected to promote local sales of the same books.

As a rule, these displays are presented by the information library to local institutions. Other presentations, supplied by the Presentation Section, consist of remainder copies of American books bought in large lots from jobbers at about one-tenth the retail cost. American publishers and other organizations contribute gifts in bulk to the program, and these are screened, grouped by subject fields, and sent by the United States Book Exchange to the information libraries for presentation. Altogether, about 1,300,000 books and periodicals were sent abroad as library presentations

<sup>42</sup> Dan Lacy in United States Congress, *House Hearings* (82d Cong., 2d sess.), February, 1952, Department of State, p. 169.

in fiscal 1951, some of these by the New York Service Station, some by USBE.

Translation of American books is a constantly expanding program that has spread from its beginnings in Latin America to other parts of the world, especially the Near East.<sup>43</sup> In the fiscal year 1951 the department allotted definite sums for translation (which usually involves condensation and simplification) for countries in the Arab-to-India bloc with a total world-wide translation budget of \$567,721. The administrator of ICS at congressional hearings in February, 1952, pointed out that information libraries had since the end of World War II selected for French-speaking areas about 400 titles from the 1,800 American books privately translated and published in France. A similar program had been pursued in Italy. In addition, through its own translation program, ICS "has stimulated foreign publishers to bring out 155 books in translation, and we have some 340 additional works now in process of publication; and, with the funds available to us this year, we can bring out about 300 more beyond that in about 10,000 copies each."<sup>44</sup>

Since it has been found more effective to handle the publication and distribution of American translations through local publishers abroad, the Translations Branch of ICS acts primarily to provide whatever kind of assistance is needed in a particular area. This may take the form of purchase of American translation rights or the agreement to buy a certain number of copies for the information libraries or for presentation. In countries

<sup>43</sup> In Germany OMGUS ran an extensive publishing program, and in the summer of 1951 the HICOG-sponsored operation reached its two hundred and fiftieth translated title with the publication of George Stewart's *Storm* (see *USIE Newsletter*, August, 1951, p. 19).

<sup>44</sup> Lacy, *op. cit.*, p. 169.



where paper is scarce, ICS-Washington may provide the necessary finished stock or arrange the loan of illustration plates from the American publisher.

The information libraries provide extension service whenever and however possible. Lack of facilities restricts most posts to utilizing special loan collections or devising an impromptu bookmobile service by requisitioning jeeps or borrowing films trucks. There are a half-dozen actual bookmobiles in service in the Far East, twenty in Germany, and one at the Biblioteca Benjamin Franklin in Mexico City.

Other community services, especially those using audio-visual materials, also depend on available facilities. Sometimes a room in the library will serve for showing a film from the Motion Picture Service (IMS). Display space will be used for poster and photographic exhibits from the International Press Publications Service (IPS) or from the Exhibits Branch of ICS. In 1951 this branch inaugurated an exhibit of "Best U.S. Books of 1950-51," which represented selections made by the Library of Congress and sent to the posts that requested the collection. The branch made up three sets (fiction and textbooks were excluded from the selection) comprised of 550 titles (sent to seven libraries), 300 titles (to fourteen missions), and 100 titles (dispatched to forty posts). After extended display in the library and at local institutions, the collections were presented to a native library. The exhibit is intended to be an annual event.

Lectures by prominent visiting Americans and discussion groups at the library serve to attract potential readers, as do the increasingly popular recorded concerts and occasional "live" recitals. Young people, and even adults, are drawn to the libraries by classes in the

"American language" and by collections of children's books. All libraries receive in the regular monthly book packet an occasional juvenile title, and the program officers send special children's packets to libraries that have juvenile collections. At some posts, in the Near and Far East especially, there are children's corners with regular story hours, games, and the playing of phonograph records.<sup>45</sup>

English classes are a feature of the binational centers (with some 50,000 students enrolled) and constitute one of the most popular attractions at *Amerika Hauser*, but some of the information libraries hold them, too. However, while posts in the Near and Far Eastern countries offer classes for large numbers of army officers, police officials, government employees, and other key groups, most are not equipped to accommodate the vast number of persons who want to study English. Since the English-teaching Branch of ICS cannot satisfy the world-wide demand for directly administered programs, its main efforts are directed toward working with national teachers of English in the local school systems.

Reference service is, of course, provided in all overseas libraries, with such posts as those in London and Paris being primarily reference libraries and serving a large public by telephone and mail. Questions which the libraries cannot answer by materials at hand are often referred to the Program Services Branch in Washington. An Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs has remarked: "When the

<sup>45</sup> Library activities with regard to children are more fully described in the Department of State publication, *Children's Libraries 'round the World* (Washington: Government Printing Office); "World Shows High Regard for Our Information Libraries," *Library Journal*, LXXIV (October 15, 1949), 1567-70; and Gurin and Baumgartner, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

librarian answers a question to the satisfaction of a visitor, he is doing more than supplying necessary information. He is telling the story of America. He is spreading good will. He is promoting peace."<sup>46</sup>

#### BUILDINGS AND PERSONNEL

Many commentators have said a great deal about the important problems of physical facilities and personnel qualifications. Perhaps the most severe criticisms of the library program are directed at them. It is not possible in this paper to repeat these charges or the answers to them. In the nature of this government operation with limited funds and civil service restrictions, certain handicaps cannot be overcome. Remarks have been made that too many library buildings are shabby, need decent furniture, and are a disgrace to the United States abroad. Other critics have complained that the libraries are so magnificently housed, in Italy, for example, that the ordinary citizen dares not brave such formidable splendor. A compromise comment is embodied in the Carpenter-Crowell-Kerr report which states that the information libraries

are housed in all sorts of buildings in good and bad locations. Some are located in embassy or legation buildings, some are assigned space in the separate buildings used by the United States Information Service, and others are in separate quarters by themselves. . . . In general the geographical location of information libraries has considerable effect on the extent to which they are used. . . . Experience has proved that libraries located on the ground floor near the sidewalk attract more readers than do those on the upper floors of a building. When at all possible, first floor locations which also have display windows should be used.

<sup>46</sup> Howland H. Sargeant, "Role of the Library in the Overseas Information Program," *Department of State Bulletin*, June 27, 1948, p. 843.

This same report comments also on personnel:

It may be trite to state that no service is better than its personnel but this statement has been proven over and over again in all types of professional service. . . . In ICD the professional personnel engaged in various library functions of the program should be trained librarians with field experience.

Many more qualifications are enumerated by the consultants and others, among which are language knowledge (not necessarily proficient but sufficient to read), stable, outgoing personalities, imagination, a sense of public relations and promotion of library resources, drive and energy, a sympathetic interest in foreign peoples and their problems, wide experience with American libraries and publications, "a knowledge of foreign relations and of the host country, and, this goes without saying, an acquaintance with most fields of knowledge and with the United States."<sup>47</sup>

Militating against finding such paragons among librarians are the difficulties associated with federal government service: the importance of "paper" experience, processing delays due to the security check, irritating bureaucratic methods strangled in "red tape," and a general lack of knowledge among librarians in the United States of the importance of the program and the challenging work involved.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Heindel, "American Libraries in Foreign Service," *op. cit.*, p. 5; see also Helen Wessells, "Salesmen of the U.S.A.," *Library Journal*, LXXVI (July, 1951), 1077-82; "U.S. Information Libraries," *Library Journal*, LXXIII (January 15, 1948), p. 66; and extensive appendix to "Overseas Information Libraries" by Frances Rugen, unpublished M.S. thesis (Western Reserve University, June, 1950).

<sup>48</sup> "U.S. Advisory Commission on Information," *Department of State Bulletin*, January 16, 1950, p. 97. Salaries are not a detriment; in fact, it is possible by means of a pretty generous base salary plus overseas allowances to live cheaply and well and even save money.

In June, 1952, about half the information libraries had American librarians in residence (there were five in the Benjamin Franklin in Mexico and four in Paris, two of the largest installations), and the rest were run by a public affairs or cultural officer of USIS, or by nationals. Of the 134 librarian positions which were filled, seven incumbents had no library training but had knowledge of the area and its language.

Criticism has been made in the past with regard to inadequate briefing of librarians before they were sent abroad, but today all personnel undergo an elaborate training course in Washington of seven weeks: two weeks at the Foreign Service Institute for orientation in Foreign Service and IIA objectives; one week on the five information media; two weeks in ICS-Washington to learn how to put into effect by means of library materials the aims of the international information program; and one week at the New York Service Section and the "Voice of America." Grantees to the binational centers undergo a longer course of five or six weeks at ICS-Washington, and non-American librarians overseas are brought to the United States for library training and nation-wide tours of library installations.

Altogether, it seems fair to say that in the light of the above-mentioned handicaps, hard-working recruits at ICS-Washington and in the field are doing the best with what support Congress and American public opinion have given them.

#### THE ROLE OF THE LIBRARY IN THE INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION PROGRAM

The difficulty of defining the role of the information library in the IIA program is due, first, to the substantial variations in the kinds of these installations and their

activities and, second, to the disagreement as to what their proper functions are or should be. It will help to review the various types in operation, their activities, and, finally, the ways in which these libraries fit into the aims of the present information program.

The first government-sponsored libraries that were established in Latin America in 1942 and 1943 originated with the close co-operation of the American Library Association and were run mostly by public librarians. They were founded primarily to function as model public libraries abroad and operated on the principles of free access to printed materials for everyone, assistance by the staff in using these materials and in answering reference questions, extension service to the community, and use of discussion, lectures, films, exhibits, music, and the like to promote the library's program. The aims of this program were to teach good library service by example and to serve the cause of international understanding and peace by means of cultural exchange. It can be said that the Biblioteca Benjamin Franklin in Mexico City did, and still does, represent this kind of an overseas library.

The outpost libraries of the OWI were of a slightly different nature. Designed to function in the British Commonwealth, they were largely reference centers specializing in materials about the United States. Chester S. Williams, who was instrumental in founding them, has said that the "U.S. Information Library is first of all a reference collection for the use of press, radio and other information specialists in OWI offices abroad."<sup>49</sup> Richard H. Heindel, director of the first of these installations in London, expanded the concept to take in service to the information facilities of the area, "as a

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 171.

special library for the British community."<sup>50</sup> Their purpose was to put into the hands of the press or radioman, or any public opinion leader, material from America that would provoke him to utilize it in America's behalf. In short, there was more purposeful dissemination of information in the OWI installations than in the first kind.

This is indicated in the Executive Order 9182:7 F.R. 4469 establishing OWI. The office was directed to use its resources "to develop an informed and intelligent understanding at home and abroad, of the status and progress of the war effort and of the war policies, activities, and aims of the government."<sup>51</sup> Consideration was given to the proper function of the outpost library as a medium of war information in an effort to determine its place in relation to the other media—press, radio, films, and the book world in general. "From this consideration," a chief of the Library Program Division wrote, "the OWI has reached the conclusion that libraries are most valuable in those programs which need to utilize organized knowledge, to overcome prejudice, and to create an understanding of peoples, situations and problems."<sup>52</sup> More precisely, this meant that the libraries were to combat anti-American feeling in the allied countries by propagating factual but mostly favorable information about the United States. Heindel has written:

The conclusion was that skilled and honest interpreters, working with a whole range of American publications—those used by Americans themselves—could assist in projecting the

knowledge, the experience, the understanding of the United States to further victory in the war and the peace. . . . The continuing philosophy behind the library in London has been that we lay before a free nation what a free nation is thinking, doing and writing.<sup>53</sup>

Those most closely associated with these installations have insisted that they were not propaganda centers, but many information specialists in OWI considered themselves propagandists, and it has been said that the information outposts, of which the libraries were usually a part, engaged in "psychological warfare in some form or other."<sup>54</sup> It is probably safe to say that there was diversity of operation and divergence of opinion regarding OWI libraries but that the majority avoided overt propaganda and served as reference libraries disseminating *information*.

Certainly, when peace came and the libraries were taken into the State Department program, propaganda activities became anathema to overseas librarians who were working in countries super-sensitive to any suggestion of "intellectual persuasion" by a foreign government. "We refused to be considered a propaganda agency," declared one librarian in Australia. "Our assignment from Washington was, and is, to answer questions about the United States with factual information."<sup>55</sup> Another, in South Africa, said: "These libraries are the jewels of the intercultural program for . . . their very neutrality lends them authority."<sup>56</sup>

The information libraries, then, leaned

<sup>53</sup> "U.S. Libraries Overseas," *op. cit.*, p. 163, and "An Outpost Library at Work," *op. cit.*, p. 979.

<sup>54</sup> Larson, "Books Across the Sea," *op. cit.*, p. 208.

<sup>55</sup> Mary E. Townes, "Relation to the Local Library Profession," *ALA Bulletin*, XL (September 15, 1946), 14.

<sup>56</sup> Florence C. Wilmer, "Lessons Learned at Johannesburg," *Library Journal*, LXXI (November 1, 1946), 1503.

<sup>50</sup> "The American Library Abroad," *op. cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>51</sup> Quoted by J. M. Cory, "Libraries and the Office of War Information," *ALA Bulletin*, XXXVII (February, 1943), 38.

<sup>52</sup> Paul Howard, "Libraries and the OWI," *Library Journal*, LXIX (January 1, 1944), 24.

in the direction of cultural relations rather than information or propaganda. They could be described as special libraries disseminating a "full and fair picture" of the United States. They had small, very active collections "to supplement the materials on America which exist in other libraries in the host country. It is a special library in the sense that the subject of all the books, periodicals, and pamphlets is 'these United States.'"<sup>57</sup> The present chief of ICS has indicated that the installations today still have something of the nature of a special library by his suggestion that libraries such as that at Time, Inc., might be a more appropriate recruiting source than small public libraries.<sup>58</sup>

However, with the inauguration of the "Campaign of Truth" in 1950, these special libraries came to be considered in a slightly different light. To signalize this change, as well as to consolidate diverse nomenclature and to accord strictly with the wording of Public Law 402 (Sec. 501), these libraries were officially named "information centers" on November 3, 1950. When asked about the reason for this at the House hearings of the appropriations subcommittee in February, 1952, the chief of ICS replied: "It was thought that the title more adequately described the total range of their functions."<sup>59</sup>

It is worth pausing to see what was meant by this. What are the functions of the information centers or libraries today? How do they accord with the aims of the information program?

<sup>57</sup> Lucile Dudgeon, "The U.S. Information Library Program of the Department of State," *Between Librarians*, December, 1946, p. 11.

<sup>58</sup> Dan Lacy, "Use of the Term 'Information Centers,'" memorandum to William Johnstone, March 24, 1952, p. 3.

<sup>59</sup> United States Congress, *House Hearings* (82d Cong., 2d sess.), Department of State, p. 166.

In the face of a critical report submitted by observers from the Bureau of the Budget, the International Information Administration prepared a lengthy answer in time for the vote in the House of Representatives on appropriations for the fiscal year 1953. This answer, included in the *Congressional Record* for April 4, 1952 (pp. 3586-89), provides a good indication of the direction in which the managers of the program are moving. Only the highlights that pertain to library operation can be mentioned here.

#### 1. *Integration of propaganda with foreign policy operations.*—

It was a novel idea in diplomacy to talk to peoples as well as governments, and to remember when you talked to one foreign government that the rest of the world was listening. There are still people who don't accept the idea easily. But in almost every foreign country a public affairs officer is sitting close alongside the Ambassador or Minister and being consulted on how the people of the country will react to any major move that is being planned. Public affairs people are consulted in the same way back here in the State Department, and they've been brought into the official United States delegation at major international meetings.

This integration, the report continues, extends to other government programs, such as those of the Mutual Security Administration, the Technical Co-operation Administration, and the Armed Forces. Finally, integration is also being attempted among the information media so that the entire USIS output will lay down a consistent, co-ordinated barrage on target areas.

This integration was officially recognized in a Foreign Service serial dated November 3, 1950:

It is desired that the operations of the information centers continue to be integrated and co-ordinated as closely as possible with other activities of the USIE or public affairs programs at the missions and posts concerned, and that such co-ordinated programs be de-

veloped as far as possible in the light of the principle of directed effort toward specific targets. Where quarters are adequate, it is suggested that film showings, lectures, discussion groups, concerts, etc., be held in the information centers and supplemented by exhibits, bibliographies, or other special services from the centers' collections which reinforce the activity and draw to the attention of its spectators the permanent reference materials in allied fields which are available in the information center.

For the library director, all this means that he must be informed on the political and economic aims and operations of his government and must understand the sociopolitical-economic conditions within the area of his responsibility. His knowledge of these factors is necessary for effective selection of materials and for determining the nature of his service to the community. Those libraries that have the facilities allow use of their space for film showings by IMS, exhibits by IPS, and the playing of special recordings of IBS. As regards these activities the administrator of ICS has explained that one of the reasons why libraries are considered "information centers" is that "these physical quarters [are used] for other activities of IIA even though they were not usually under the direction of the library or necessarily even related to its functions."<sup>60</sup>

2. *Emphasis on targets and objectives.*—The introduction in 1950 of the "country papers" (which analyze all internal conditions of a country) and the establishment of "areas of concern" have resulted in defining more precisely the target groups of the information program. The significance to the library of thus specifying its clientele affects more than the selection of specific materials for a particular audience. It means that the librarian

<sup>60</sup> Lacy, "Use of the Term 'Information Centers,'" *op. cit.*, p. 2.

must promote his collection actively, disseminating his materials to persons who will do the most good in terms of program objectives, bringing ideas to people in competition with other ideas. This is going further than the early program objectives of correcting misconceptions about the United States and providing American materials reflecting the good and the not-so-good in national life. This is "information with a purpose." The chief of ICS has described this newer concept of a center as one which, while it

should, in the tradition of democratic libraries, provide free service to all who seek it, yet it is essential that in its efforts to *seek out* potential users it confine itself to those persons or groups of persons who are in a position to make decisions on matters of interest to the United States or who control or have access to or can affect the indigenous sources of opinion-molding information. In other words, where one tiny center serves ten to fifty million persons as in India, it can work effectively only by reaching them indirectly through its effect on domestic media or by by-passing the general public to work directly with those who make the governing political and economic decisions.<sup>61</sup>

3. *Better evaluation.*—While admitting that the role of evaluation in the information program needs more precise definition and has been the subject of criticism, the report says:

IIA evaluation is utilizing American market research techniques in shaping output so that it will be more effective. . . . It should be seen as a tool intended (1) to help key executives make all activities more effective and (2) as a means of measuring their effectiveness as a guide to how much money and effort should be devoted to them. For both purposes, the best available techniques are currently being employed, and extended, by IIA.

The Program Guidance Staff of ICS is most particularly concerned with such evaluation reports. Faulty communications between ICS-Washington and the

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

field have caused complaint and criticism, but the special consultants in their recent report said:

Many steps have been taken in the past two years to correct this lamentable state of affairs. Thus today, thanks to the institution of quarterly statistical reports and semi-annual evaluation reports, ICD has a much better notion of what its Information Centers around the world are doing.<sup>62</sup>

Another step in this direction was the inventory the posts made of their holdings, the results of which are being incorporated in a union catalog.

#### 4. *Decentralization of media operations.*

The direction of the entire program has been and is toward decentralization—toward the shaping of country-by-country tactics by the embassies and legations themselves, and toward the actual production of materials by each mission.

Dr. Wilson Compton, administrator of IIA, testified in February, 1952, before the Subcommittee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives with regard to the recent reorganization and his appointment: "The most important substantive change which is, I think, involved here, is the lifting of the overseas or field program, the country program, to a position of greater significance."<sup>63</sup>

Italy, with its important geographical position between East and West and its inner threat from a large and active Communist party, serves as a good example of an "area of concern" in which field operations have been intensified. Robert Delaney, writing about the library operation there at the end of 1951, said:

With last year's expanded "Campaign of Truth" by the U.S. Department of State, the facilities of U.S. Information Centers to Italians

were proportionately increased. Today, there are 8 Information Centers covering Italy with selected collections of representative American titles and reference works, ranging from 4,000 volumes in the newest library to 12,000 titles in Rome.

Delaney continued by describing how a librarian was sent to the field in June, 1951, to co-ordinate national library activities, advise on library problems, and to help expand the service to include selected groups from every level of Italian society. Extension service was planned to rural areas and workers' districts "so that America's position in the world and her way of life may be known to even the most rabid Communist adherents." In less than six months, 25 new titles in translation were added to the 400 American titles in Italian designed to attract larger numbers of non-English-speaking patrons. Altogether, the emphasis was directed toward general expansion of facilities and an extension program utilizing rural deposit collections, reading rooms, bookmobile service, and direct mail. Included also were the latest American methods of library service, such as "movies, children's hours, recorded concerts, and visual publicity aids."<sup>64</sup>

#### 5. *Emphasis on propaganda rather than cultural affairs.*—

No cultural activity is presently being continued which does not, through its own methods, encourage the unity and strengthening of the free world, increase trust in the United States as a leader in the free world, or expose the evils of communism.

Proportionate emphasis on different approaches properly varies country by country. However . . . culture for culture's sake has no place in the United States Information and Educational Exchange program. The value of international cultural exchange is to win respect for the cultural achievement of our free

<sup>62</sup> Carpenter, Crowell, and Kerr, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>63</sup> United States Congress, *House Hearings* (82d Cong., 2d sess.), Department of State, p. 14.

<sup>64</sup> Robert L. Delaney, "USIS Expands in Italy," *Library Journal*, LXXVI (December 15, 1951), 2067-68.

society, where that respect is necessary to inspire cooperation with us in world affairs. In such a situation, cultural activities are an indispensable tool of propaganda.

It can readily be seen that this is a concept of cultural exchange far removed from that which inspired the ALA libraries ten years ago.

This report presents a concept of the "information center" worth quoting in its entirety:

#### LIBRARY-INFORMATION CENTER PROGRAM

The renaming of the Division of Libraries and Institutes as the Division of Overseas Information Centers is one surface indication of recasting of the concept of the library as a United States Information Center. The essence of the revised training program for all personnel who will be assigned to these centers overseas is the development of the propaganda sense and approach in lieu of the rather vague stereotype of a cultural-affairs program.

The Information Center is a propaganda instrument. Yet there has to be considerable adroitness in making effective propaganda use of it. The Information Center should not become, openly, the focus of all overt propaganda activities locally, because some of these propaganda activities are intended for very different audiences than those which normally use a center.

The symbolic value of the United States Information Center has been a subject of frequent favorable comments, not in terms of a cultural symbol but a democratic one—the democratic atmosphere induced by the fact that it is open to all segments of society and by the equally friendly service to all comers. Also the centers have been regarded as symbols of democratic strength since both sides of controversial issues are often available on the book shelves—showing no fear of truth.

The fact that only a minority of the books in the center are in the local language is not as important as it seems at first sight. Many persons who do not read English use the centers as sources of information by mail, telephone, or personal inquiry. Moreover, all books useful to the program that exist in local languages are placed in the collections. But it is true that the principal use of the centers is by persons who

do use English. These are the educated class—but the class includes not only scholars and physicians, but political leaders, journalists, writers, broadcasters, and other moulders of opinion who influence the thinking and political actions of millions of their fellow countrymen.

All the above material from this report by IIA must be considered in light of the fact that it was intended for Congress at a crucial money-voting time and in answer to certain pretty severe strictures from the Bureau of the Budget. As a highly placed official in IIA has remarked: "Congressmen do not think very highly of the library as a propaganda weapon."

The administrator of ICS has added a realistic reminder that there is bound to be a gap between policy and practice. Many librarians in the field have been informed of these concepts only by such imperfect means of communication as directives and correspondence, and comparatively few have been recalled for the new indoctrination at Washington. In an interview the administrator summarized the nature of an ideal overseas library operating in accord with current policy directives: Above all, there is no adulteration in good library service. Rather, we in the home office and the librarian in the field are trying to define more sharply the kind of people we want to reach with the kind of material we consider will best serve our objectives—plus, when possible, reinforcement of reading effects by lectures, discussion groups, and other programs like those of the *Amerika Hauser*. Our target is more sharply defined than that of most American libraries: we aim at journalists and opinion leaders, rather than housewives. Our information centers are shifting to an active rather than a passive role in supporting the "Campaign of Truth."

Actually, as has been said, "the U.S.



Information Libraries vary as do the libraries in small towns in the United States. They have grown according to the needs of the community, and in some cases according to the plan of the librarian first sent out."<sup>65</sup> The Biblioteca Benjamin Franklin in Mexico City still remains a modified public library. The library in Paris is largely a reference operation answering inquiries by mail and telephone with objective data about the United States. In the Far East many libraries have facilities for a variety of audio-visual activities and face-to-face contact much as does an American community center. As has been indicated, the *Amerika Haeuser*, with their large book collections, diffuse public activities such as English classes and film showings, and their extension services and translations might be considered a prototype. But the administrator of ICS has emphatically stated that

we have not taken or realistically contemplated any steps other than exhortation which would actually materially enlarge the non-book activities of the former "libraries" or remold them more nearly along the lines of the *Amerika Haeuser*. Neither buildings, nor staff, nor funds for backstopping have ever been provided, sought, or realistically contemplated that would enable them to carry on non-book programs in other than a limited manner.<sup>66</sup>

Accordingly, it is obvious that there is wide deviation in character and practice among the information libraries. There is even wider divergence, outside the program at least, as regards the proper function of these government-sponsored installations. A "Report on the United States Overseas Information Program," dated September 14, 1951, by two members of the Bureau of the Budget advo-

cates conversion of the whole information program to all-out psychological warfare. About the libraries they remark:

As a cultural symbol, and as a reference source for physicians, scholars, and other professional people, the library has some value in the propaganda program but its impact is limited. The concept of the library should be recast along the lines of the United States Information Center, and this establishment should be the focus of all overt propaganda activities locally, with the library serving as only one of the facilities available there.<sup>67</sup>

In sharp contrast to this are the views of Luther H. Evans, who wrote in 1951:

My personal knowledge of the impression made by American libraries abroad is by no means confined to those through whose reading rooms and book stacks I have been escorted. . . . Hardly a week goes by without several foreign visitors passing through my office—men and women from many parts of the world. . . . All of them have been deeply impressed by the friendly spirit of service and helpfulness they have encountered in their search for truth in these libraries. And almost without exception, when they discuss the American library in their national capital, they tell me it is most effective in making the United States known and appreciated at its true worth. . . . People are deeply moved by what they experience, and I suspect the actuality of free, open-handed American libraries overseas means as much to their users as the books they read in them. They may have read about freedom of opinion in the United States; they actually see evidence of it in an American library that contains books different from or even hostile to the views of the administration in power in the United States. The presence of one uncensored book critical of some aspect of American life in the open collections of a USIE library can do more than a thousand propaganda tracts to convince the doubting reader of the integrity of American goals and the candor with which American shortcomings are admitted.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Helen E. Wessels, "—And Everywhere a Library," *D.C. Libraries*, July, 1950, p. 1.

<sup>66</sup> Lacy, "Use of the Term 'Information Centers,'" *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>67</sup> Robert N. Beers and James P. Tallman, "Report on the United States Overseas Information Program," memorandum to G. W. Lawson, Jr., September 14, 1951, p. 9.

<sup>68</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 8, 10–11.

Many returnees from the overseas libraries seem inclined to support this concept of the importance of a balanced, nonpropagandistic collection in the libraries and would still agree with the statement made by Ferdinand Kuhn in 1946:

The greatest danger facing the United States Information Service, it seems to me, is that it may be regarded as a mere instrument of counter-propaganda against Russian propaganda. Is it not equally important over the long haul for the facts about the structure of Congress, or the soil conservation program, or our public school system to be made available to those everywhere who want and need to know about them? The real way to counteract Soviet propaganda overseas is not by crude or blatant counter-measures . . . but by making available steadily a picture of America as it really is.<sup>69</sup>

It was in view of such a concept of the library overseas that an administrator in IIA remarked:

As a taxpayer, I would resent the expenditure of public funds for a long-range, cultural operation modeled on the American public library. We are not exchanging general theories with our enemies but are fighting specific ideas, vicious ideas in a war of ideas. So we want to use books in an active way, to change people's ideas or to keep them on our side.

It seems fair to say that a difference of views exists regarding the proper function of the information library. In reality, of course, these views are not so violently opposed as they seem when put down in black and white. Most of the libraries overseas have a pretty representative collection of basic books about the United States, together with items selected to support general foreign policy objectives and local needs and interests. Having been trained for the most part in discovering and satisfying com-

munity demands, the librarian in practice is a propagandist less in terms of what materials he has and selects than in the way he uses these materials.

Nevertheless, a difference of opinion does exist in terms of how much emphasis should be put on considering and using the information library as a propaganda weapon in the cold war. Present indications are that the policy-makers in the information program prefer to think of the library as properly functioning closely with the rest of the communications media—that is, as an instrument for getting across particular ideas to specified target groups. What has not always been taken into consideration by both sides is how the role of the information library is best suited to its functions as a library per se.

#### CONCLUSION: PROPER FUNCTIONS OF THE INFORMATION LIBRARY

One of the suggestions put forward in the recent six-month study of the use of books in the overseas information program urged that the State Department draw up a "clear and simple 'bill of rights' for these libraries which would crystallize the scope and purpose of the book program and define the character of the information library and its collections for all to see." The consultants pointed out that there is confusion abroad about whether the centers "contain a cross section of American books, selected books, or even propaganda books."<sup>70</sup>

This is much easier said than done. Such a bill of particulars would not only have to convey the complex nature of the information library to a foreign audience; it would first have to resolve differences at home as to whether the library is properly a propaganda instrument or

<sup>69</sup> Ferdinand Kuhn, Jr., "Letting the Whole World Know," *Survey Graphic*, December, 1946, p. 494.

<sup>70</sup> Carpenter, Crowell, and Kerr, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 8.

an impartial service center, whether the operation should concentrate on immediate impact or long-range acculturation, whether the library should be stocked with anti-Communist literature or with full and fair representations of American life, and similar issues.

Granted that such definitive pronouncements should be made, there is a very real question as to whether at the present time they could be made. General statements on policies and practices of ICS can be found in the *Educational Exchange Manual*, a revised version of which is being prepared by the Program Guidance Staff of ICS-Washington. These policy statements are necessarily general, cautiously indefinite, and determinedly unaware that a conflict exists between the concept of a propaganda library and a "democratic" service center in the American tradition. They would be virtually meaningless to an overseas audience unacquainted with the historic functions of the free American library.

The difficulties inherent in drawing up such a "clear and simple 'bill of rights'" can be measured against the fact that it is hard enough to put into words the varied aims and rights of libraries in the United States. A bill of rights for the information libraries, which represent most of the American types plus special adaptations to foreign demands, would have to start from this unsure ground and advance to very rocky terrain indeed. For it can be said that some of the basic tenets on which the whole international information program is operating are enveloped in some pretty cloudy concepts. These are worth identifying, for they are at the heart of any answer as to the proper functions of the information library.

1. *Truth*.—President Truman set the present objective of the program when he said on April 20, 1950: "Our task is to

present the truth to millions of people who are uninformed or misinformed or unconvinced." Secretary of State Dean Acheson soon afterward remarked: "Truth in the world today is a political force. Nothing makes plainer the power of this force, I think, than the Communist fear of it."<sup>71</sup> Beyond the fact that the truth is per se an elusive entity, the "Campaign of Truth" that was hereby launched has in certain regards meant an emphasis on selected facts, on propaganda, to counter the campaign of anti-American slander by the Communists. Admittedly, news is still the basic weapon of the free world. But most of the broadcasts of the "Voice of America" represent a winnowing of the news and editorial opinion in accord with policy guidance teletyped daily from Washington. Also some of the picture pamphlets originating in IPS are unattributed, covert publications that are in essence products of psychological warfare. The information libraries have been incorporated into this campaign without, as far as I know, having established how much of their materials shall be "truthful" and how much propaganda.

2. *Propaganda*.—The administrator of IIA has been quoted as saying that the program was not dealing in propaganda but "information with a purpose." The shade of differentiation here is pretty hard to see, and the previously cited report from the *Congressional Record* talked frankly in terms of propaganda. One of the greatest difficulties in preparing this paper was to find definitions of "information," "propaganda," and the like which would correspond to actual operational distinctions within IIA. I think it fair to say, as a government re-

<sup>71</sup> "Support for an Expanded Information and Education Program," *Department of State Bulletin*, July 17, 1950, p. 100.

port has said, that "throughout USIE there is confusion in the use of such terms as information program, psychological warfare, propaganda, and public affairs."<sup>72</sup>

3. *Cold war*.—A great deal has been written and said about the war of ideas, the war for men's minds, the cold war that is raging between the free world and the forces of Communist aggression. Many on both sides see it as a form of war as defined by Karl von Clausewitz: "a real political instrument, a continuation of political intercourse, a carrying out of the same by other means." The German militarist went on to declare that in his opinion all war was total war in which any amount of violence was justified and any "modifying principle" an "absurdity."<sup>73</sup> By such a definition, psychological warfare is the only logical means of "compelling our adversary to do our will."<sup>74</sup> But a legitimate uncertainty exists on the part of the Western democracies, with their nettlesome minorities and jittery allies, as to how far a

provocative war of words can be carried without provoking the very shooting war it is designed to prevent. Is the cold war to be considered a total war, as a recent report to Congress by the chief of the State Department's Office of Intelligence Research on the U.S.S.R. clearly implied?<sup>75</sup> Or is it a long, continuing struggle in which "we must so act in dealing with the immediate difficulty that we manage also the more long-range ones"?<sup>76</sup>

If a total war, then it would seem evident that the information library does have a limited, strongly propagandistic role to play. If, however, one eye must be kept on future relations, then surely the information library can serve an important function in promoting understanding of the United States and its global aims. In this second instance, of course, the library materials would have to be truthful lest, as is expected to happen with regard to Communist big lies, the future make a mockery of present claims.

Today, the actual situation seems to be that the cold war ranges in degree from the very warm, as in Asia, to the mildly simmering, as in most of the British Commonwealth. To take the temperature of a specific area, the information program relies on the country paper. This geographical variation of cold-war intensity helps to explain both the variety of library operation from area to area and the difficulty of defining in an over-all way the proper functions of the overseas library.

4. *Area situations*.—It has been emphasized that the information program is moving in the direction of decentralization of responsibility and operation. This

<sup>72</sup> A pamphlet of the War Department *What Is Propaganda?* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944) concluded that propaganda "is one of the most troublesome words in the English language. To define it clearly and precisely so that whenever it is used it will mean the same thing to everybody, is like trying to get your hands on an eel. You think you've got it—then it slips away" (p. 36).

<sup>73</sup> Karl von Clausewitz, *On War* (Washington: Infantry Journal Press, 1943), pp. 4, 16.

<sup>74</sup> Lieutenant General Albert C. Wedemeyer testified before Congress in 1950: "In my opinion, we should no longer consider our military forces—the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force—as our first line of defense. In my opinion, the machinery, whether it be the Voice of America or a psychological warfare agency, that our Government sets up will make a stronger contribution and should be considered the first line of defense of our country." Quoted by Edward W. Barrett, "U.S. Information Aims in a Cold War," *Department of State Bulletin*, June 19, 1950, p. 995. See also United States Congress, *House Hearings* (82d Cong., 2d Sess.), Department of State, pp. 400–407, testimony of General J. Lawton Collins.

<sup>75</sup> United States Congress, *House Hearings* (82d Cong., 2d Sess.), Department of State, pp. 408–21.

<sup>76</sup> Dean Acheson, "What Is the Present? What of the Future?" *New York Times Magazine*, August 5, 1951, p. 35.

will inevitably increase the differences between overseas libraries. The library director in London will concentrate on dissemination of truthful news and reference information about the United States; the librarian in Saigon will have to think more in terms of influencing the attitudes of his target group with specially selected materials. Under such variable conditions, library operations have to be co-ordinated in Washington. Local interests in Tunisia, for example, might suggest that political and public affairs backing be given in support of nationalist elements. Any such action, however, would have to be weighed against impairing relations with France, the threat of Communist seizure in the face of national weakness, and many other mundane problems. The relationship, then, between field and Washington responsibility for such decisions is one more imponderable, another variable that makes neat definitions almost impossible.

5. *Evaluation*.—As has been mentioned, IIA stated in the report published in the *Congressional Record* that, for evaluation of the effects of the program and the success of its media, "the best available techniques are currently being employed."<sup>77</sup> At the same time, IIA admitted that these techniques, like those employed by the American advertising industry, measured reach but not results. This means that no effort is made on a large scale to determine how the media are really affecting the attitudes of their audience. How many Italians have been prevented from joining the Communist party because of a book from an information library? How many Communists in Indochina have been drawn to the side of the Western democracies by virtue of a discussion group? How many

listeners behind the Iron Curtain have been encouraged to hope for eventual liberation or inspired to hamper Communist progress? These important questions cannot be answered for two reasons: even the multibillion-dollar American advertising industry, backed by the latest devices of social science surveys, does not possess the techniques for measuring effectiveness except in terms of "how many people are being reached, what kinds of people these are and with what frequency they are reached." Second, "even the gathering of this type of information is enormously complicated overseas, where most countries have no facilities for carrying on this type of work."<sup>78</sup>

Evaluation by means of this quantitative measurement can specify how many people came into an information library in Bangkok over a certain interval of time or how many books were circulated in Athens, which is probably as useful to know as it is in a public library in the United States. But this kind of "reach" measurement, which the advertisers also use, tells even less about the success of an information program than it does about the success of an advertising campaign. For there is a fundamental difference between international communication of ideas and selling soap. The number of people reached by an advertisement has been shown to have some bearing on sales, because few people feel strongly about one bar of soap as compared with another and therefore need only a nudge to act. On the other hand, the very words used in international communication are freighted with significance and concern matters of controversy and importance. Paul F. Lazarsfeld in a foreword to a

<sup>77</sup> United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, April 4, 1952, p. 3587.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* See also Edward W. Barrett, "Stressing Information Themes To Meet Changing World Conditions," *Department of State Bulletin*, January 1, 1951, p. 15.

study of *The Effects of Mass Media* has said: "We do not know what reading does to people. . . . We are awed by the ability of modern promotion methods to sell soap and depressed by their inability to improve race relations."<sup>79</sup> Bernard Berelson has asked: "Do communications influence public opinion?" and he has answered equivocally: "Some kinds of communication on some kinds of issues, brought to the attention of some kinds of people under some kinds of conditions, have some kinds of effects."<sup>80</sup>

Moreover, of all forms of public communication, reading materials, especially books, have been studied in terms of their effects with least success. The studies by Waples and Tyler (outdated), Link and Hopf (statistically suspect), and Waples-Berelson-Bradshaw indicate little except that books, by nature of their length and diversity, are varied in their effects on different readers. In fact, although the printed word as such does carry prestige, the full-length book that is written in a free society can probably be assumed to be a relatively poor propaganda instrument. A book appeals to the intelligentsia, who are likely to be too thoughtful to accept at face value a propaganda treatise in full-length book form. (*Mein Kampf* was certainly more of a psychological curiosity than an effective converter to National Socialism.) Heindel has aptly remarked: "A book once launched is very much like an idea. No one can quite ascertain the result."<sup>81</sup> As

in the days of Tom Paine, the propagandistic message is better suited to the pamphlet, the propagandistic slogan to the poster.

In any case, the real effect of the overseas library, either as a propaganda instrument or as a medium of cultural exchange, is much in doubt.

6. *The library and other media*.—This fuzziness concerning the real effects of books carries over into the relationship between the library and the other information media of press, radio, and films. That a distinction exists is generally recognized, but doubts as to just what it is have been indicated by the number of terms used to describe the differences. Ben M. Cherrington has mentioned that educators united at the time Public Law 402 was being drafted in 1947 to insist that a distinction be made between the libraries which functioned primarily in the realm of cultural exchange and the other media which disseminated news and information. The implication was that, while the information media might have to tamper with the truth, the libraries should be as impartially managed as the program for the exchange of persons. The result of this was the broad division, as has been mentioned, between OEX (under which were the libraries) and OII with the information media. It may or may not indicate abandonment of any difference in functions to note that in the latest reorganization of IIA the offices of OEX and OII have been abolished.

Charles Thomson has emphasized a distinction between "slow" and "fast" media, between "mass" and "individual" media, but admits that the differences are only relative, consisting of degree: a book or magazine if sent by airmail and used by a foreign journalist may have "fast" effects on large numbers of his

<sup>79</sup> J. T. Klapper, *The Effects of Mass Media* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 1. See also H. Hyman and P. Sheatsley, "Some Reasons Why Information Campaigns Fail," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XI (fall, 1947), 412.

<sup>80</sup> Bernard Berelson, "Communications and Public Opinion," in *Mass Communications*, ed. Wilbur Schramm (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949), p. 500.

<sup>81</sup> "The American Library Abroad," *op. cit.*, p. 96.

readers.<sup>82</sup> Equally unmeasurable are the designations "surface media" for radio, press, and films; "penetration media" for books, which Edward P. Hamilton made in support of his belief that "books, although they may reach a smaller audience than radio broadcasts, have a more lasting influence."<sup>83</sup> Lester Markel has distinguished between "long-term instrumentalities" which, like the library, are "information agencies" to be used for the long-term objectives, and the "short-term" media which under the pressure of time are used as propaganda tools.<sup>84</sup>

A reliable distinction would be all the more useful nowadays because of the fact that the facilities of the information libraries are being used by the other media. Is there a legitimate difference between the media which would impair the standing of the library as a reliable source of data about the United States if the library served for the showing of a propaganda film or as the dissemination agency for propagandistic IPS pamphlets? The three consultants in their 1951 reports have said:

The Department needs to make sure its overseas libraries do not lose their present enviable reputations through overzealous adherence to the new anti-Communist objectives. Let these libraries become known as mere propaganda agencies for the dissemination of anti-Communist literature and their effectiveness will be quickly crippled. . . . The American libraries are more highly regarded than their Russian counterparts in most countries; the Department cannot afford to let them engage in the kind of propaganda warfare which would reduce them to the latter's level.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> *Overseas Information Services of the United States Government*, pp. 225, 291.

<sup>83</sup> "Outposts of U.S. Books," *Department of State Record*, May-June, 1951, pp. 24, 28.

<sup>84</sup> *Public Opinion and Foreign Policy* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), p. 38.

<sup>85</sup> Carpenter, Crowell, and Kerr, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

7. *The nature of the library.*—Most fundamental in determining the proper function of the information library is an understanding of the nature of the library as a medium of communication. As has been repeated here, the overseas establishments actually represent several kinds of libraries. But, assuming that the modified public library is the prevailing type, I have seen no studies which take apart the operation to get at the basic function of an information center, as did the Public Library Inquiry with regard to that institution in the United States. In point of fact, that inquiry provides the only basic facts obtained by means of social science methods that are available for trying to understand what by its nature the overseas library is best equipped to do.

In the light of Leigh's conclusions that the public library is essentially a service organization providing reliable information mainly in the form of printed materials to a relatively small proportion of the population, the following general comments on the nature of the information library seem apt:

1. That the library is not suited to be used as a blunt propaganda instrument. The limited nature of its clientele, the uncertain effects of reading, the character of books as repositories of complex ideas rather than simple propaganda slogans, and the reputation of a library as a stronghold of truthful information militate against the success of a propaganda library established by the United States.

2. That, on the other hand, an overseas library regarded solely as an impartial agency for the promotion of cultural exchange is hard to justify today in view of the intensity of the cold war and the inclination of Congress to give little support to a purely cultural operation.

3. That as a library it should deal pri-

marily in printed materials. As the chief of ICS has expressed it: "With the resources that are or realistically can be made available for the ICS program it is clear that the basic objective of the 'Information Centers' must be to provide information in or from printed materials."<sup>86</sup> Accordingly the nonbook, audiovisual activities of the libraries should be limited to use as supplementary means of conveying information or to attract a particular target group to the library.

4. That it can most usefully confine itself to seeking out and servicing small groups of influential nationals who, in most areas, are represented by the intellectual elite.

5. That the operation of each library must be carefully planned by the library director in the light of the aims of the international information program and specific area situations, but that in carrying out day-to-day duties he must not openly violate the intrinsic nature of the democratic library. This last involves walking the tight rope between conducting an operation that maintains public confidence in its objective, truthful nature and one that achieves propagandistic results.

A related list of equally general suggestions for insuring greatest effectiveness for the overseas library operation would include the following points: (a) better facilities and a larger budget to support the use of them; (b) the most competent personnel that can be recruited from the library profession; (c) sharpening of target objectives, together with a constant effort to understand results of the library operation in terms of real effects rather than merely reach; (d) co-

ordination of library activities with those of other media and with other United States government programs, such as Mutual Security Aid and Technical Cooperation; (e) continued decentralization in terms of field responsibility for selection of materials and for particular area activities; (f) speeding up the selection and procurement process, while at the same time trying to devise some means of relieving the library director of burdensome processing chores to allow him more time to concentrate on promoting use of his collection; and, (g) increased effort on the part of ICS to define more precisely those concepts which are presently so fuzzy that they hamper both full effectiveness of the information program and the library operation within it.

These are counsels of perfection, the need for which almost all those working overseas or in ICS-Washington would readily admit. But if it is important for those within the overseas library operation to work toward a deeper, clearer understanding of the proper function of the information library, so it is equally necessary that the members of Congress and the people of the United States become more aware, first of the information program as a whole, and then of the library's role within it.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>87</sup> It is not possible here to acknowledge properly the many kind persons in the Information Center Service in Washington and New York who supplied necessary data, who consented patiently to long interviews, who read my first draft, and who contributed essential corrections. But government workers are used to anonymity and so will probably be content with a blanket expression of gratitude. Among others outside ICS, I must particularly thank Helen E. Wessels, Wayne M. Hartwell, and Robert D. Leigh.

The original, full-length paper is on deposit in the library of the School of Library Service, Columbia University, New York City.

<sup>86</sup> Lacy, "Use of the Term 'Information Centers,'" *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.